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### THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY AND F. J. FURNIVALL.

**I**T is a far cry back to 1864, when the Early English Text Society was founded; but in order to understand the revolution that has taken place since then in Early English studies, we must mentally transfer ourselves to that date, or rather to some seven years earlier.

In 1857, Dr. Trench, then Dean of Westminster, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, read two papers before the Philological Society, 'On some deficiencies in our English Dictionaries,' which were printed as a pamphlet in the same year; and from his well-laid scheme there ultimately grew the great Oxford Dictionary.

The Philological Society at once arranged for the publication of a Supplement to the Standard English Dictionary; but the response to the appeal for literary help was so encouraging, that Dr. Furnivall, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, at

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that time a little over thirty years of age, soon saw that a great effort was being made for an insufficient result, and grasped the idea that an entirely new Dictionary might be obtained by the machinery set in motion. He communicated his view to Dr. Trench, who answered him: 'It is a very fine idea, if you can carry it out; but I don't think you can.'<sup>1</sup> Furnivall was not, however, afraid of great and far-reaching ideas. The matter was fully discussed, and after much deliberation, at a meeting of the Philological Society on 7th January, 1858, 'it was resolved that instead of the Supplement to the Standard English Dictionary, then in course of preparation by the Society's Unregistered Words Committee, a New Dictionary of the English Language should be prepared.' The work was placed by the Society in the hands of two Committees—'the one Literary and Historical, consisting of the Dean of Westminster, F. J. Furnivall, and Herbert Coleridge, Secretary; and the other Etymological, consisting of Hensleigh Wedgwood and Professor Malden.' In a report, from which I am quoting, written and published in 1859, it was announced 'that the former of these Committees will edit the Dictionary and direct the general working of the scheme' ('Proposals for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society'); and so sanguine was Furnivall that he goes on to say in this pamphlet: 'Arrangements for the publication

<sup>1</sup> See 'Frederick James Furnivall, a volume of Personal Record,' 1911, p. xliii.

of this Work in 5s. parts have been made with Messrs. Trübner & Co.'

In 1909, at a meeting of the Authors' Club, Furnivall spoke from memory to this effect:

Trench wrote us a paper on the duty of making a supplement to the dictionaries of Johnson and Richardson. Herbert Coleridge, a grandson of the poet, came forward and said, 'I should like to take a part in this.' The question was, who should work with him. I refused absolutely, on which [Thomas] Watts, who was head of the Book Department in the British Museum, reminded me that I was secretary of the Society, and that if I was asked to do a thing it was my duty to do it'; so we began.

Herbert Coleridge was the son of Henry Nelson and Sara Coleridge, and was, therefore, grandson and grandnephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He became a member of the Philological Society in 1857, when he undertook with enthusiasm the labour of editorial work on the projected English Dictionary. In 1859 he printed his useful 'Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century'; but then he had less than two years to live, and to the great loss of English scholarship and the grief of his friends he died at the early age of thirty-one, working on the Dictionary in his bed to the very last.

<sup>1</sup> 'Record,' p. xliii. This is a strong injunction for an honorary secretary, and few holders of the office would be inclined to acknowledge the obligation, particularly when, as in this case, it included the editing of a big dictionary. Furnivall joined the Philological Society in 1847, and in 1853 became joint secretary with Prof. Key. In 1862 he became sole secretary on Key's election as a vice-president.

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For some years after I joined the Philological Society and its Council, one of the main objects for discussion was the progress of the Dictionary. An immense amount of material was collected, and Furnivall's office in Lincoln's Inn, and his house in St. George's Square, groaned under the weight of sacks of extracts.

Publication was constantly recommended, and I remember that Dr. Golstücker was very urgent in this matter; but I believe that, compared with the vastness of the work, very little had been done in the important branch of etymology, and in consequence Furnivall's optimism was much dashed, and he saw that it was impossible for a small Society without national help to carry out the gigantic scheme; also that he himself could not give up all his other work to devote his whole time to editorship. Fortunately, in the end the Clarendon Press came forward and patriotically undertook the production of one of the greatest books ever planned, which is now nearing completion.

As soon as the scheme for the Dictionary was started, it was at once seen that before anything could be done satisfactorily in the way of illustrating the vocabulary, dated authorities must be found and all English writings must be overhauled. These quotations must be from printed books; but it was known that large quantities of the monuments of our language were unprinted and practically unknown.

For the purpose of making these available, the Philological Society commenced in 1858 the



occasional publication of some Old English MSS. Early English Poems, and Lives of the Saints, from manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were issued as a Supplement to the Transactions of that year.<sup>1</sup> The Play of the Sacrament was added to the volume for 1860-1, and then were published separately—'Liber Cure Cocorum,' edited by Richard Morris, 1862; 'The Pricke of Conscience, by Richard Rolle de Ham-pole,' by the same editor, 1863; and the 'Castell off Love, by Robert Grosseteste,' edited by Richard F. Weymouth, 1864. These three texts were bound together, with the general title, 'The Philological Society's Early English Volume, 1862-64.'

The printing of these books was too great a strain upon the resources of the Society, and the Council rebelled. Members complained that Philology was not confined to the English language.

When the decision to print no more Texts was come to, Furnivall instantly prepared to found a new society to carry out the printing now at a standstill. Delay did not enter into his scheme of things at all, and very soon he had a prospectus ready with a preliminary list of members.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Murray, first and chief editor of the Oxford Dictionary, writes in his chapter in the 'Record' (p. 132): 'These proved of great importance for the history of the language and for the Dictionary.'

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Furnivall was not then quite so rapid as he was on a later occasion. The story is related by Miss Caroline Spurgeon: 'Some lady said to him one afternoon, casually, "I wonder you don't found a Browning Society, for Browning's Works are every bit as obscure and undecipherable as any of your Early English

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In Richard Morris he had an ardent editor, ready and eager to work on the old manuscripts, but it was not until after the Society was started that the enthusiastic band of scholars who formed the mainstay of the work was gathered together. A prospectus and appeal for members was prepared with a preliminary list of twenty-two subscribers, one of these being Ruskin, who subscribed for ten sets of the publications.

The Committee of Management consisted of five persons—Danby P. Fry (an original member of the Philological Society), Furnivall, Morris, H. T. Parker (agent for Harvard College), and H. B. Wheatley as honorary Secretary. We were all members of the Philological Society and of its Council. The first list of members contains many distinguished names. Amongst these were Tennyson, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dr. Bosworth, Henry Bradshaw, William Chappell, J. D. Coleridge, Q.C. (afterwards Lord Coleridge), Prof. George Craik, H. Hucks Gibbs (afterwards Lord Aldenham), Dr. Goldstücker, David Laing, Dr. Luard, George Macdonald, Sir Frederick Madden, Max Müller, Lord Neaves, Dr. Raine, Prof. George Stephens of Copenhagen, Thomas Watts, Hensleigh Wedgwood, and many others whose interest in the work I well remember. The late Dr. Mayor joined in 1866, and William Morris in 1869.

Texts." "You are quite right," was the Doctor's reply; and on the way home he bought a pound's worth of stamps, sat up all night writing letters to suitable people on the subject, and by the evening of the following day the first members had joined.—'F. J. Furnivall, a Volume of Personal Record,' 1911, p. 184.

Thus was started into life the Early English Text Society; texts were sent to press, and at the end of the year four books were ready for the 1864 subscription. As Furnivall wrote in the Report dated 'January, 1865'—'Though the Society started late in the past year, these four texts were published within a fortnight of its close, and before that time the first text for the second year was in the printer's hands.'

The MS. of the first book in our series (Early English Alliterative Poems, edited by Richard Morris, from Cotton MS. Nero A.x) had been praised long previously by Dr. Guest for the great philological value of the poems, and by Sir Frederick Madden for their great literary merit. One of these is the 'Pearl,' which Dr. Gollancz has edited separately, and by so doing given it a recognized position in our literature.

Two of the books were small, but the four make a satisfactory output for a society with less than two hundred members. It is an uphill struggle to obtain that number; but afterwards, if the new society is well managed the members exert themselves and the increase becomes more rapid.

In 1865 we issued eight texts, and in the middle of 1866 we had nearly three hundred members. Then a mistake was made in issuing eleven texts, too many for the actual income. The books ran out of print, and the Society was hampered for some time by the necessity of reprinting these. The numbers, however, continued to increase, and in 1868, four years after its foundation, the Society had nearly five hundred members. The Extra

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Series had just been started, and the balance-sheet showed an income of over £1,000.

In the foundation of the Early English Text Society, Furnivall's main object was, in his own words, that Englishmen might be able to say of their early literature what the Germans can say with pride of theirs, 'Every work of it is printed, and every word of it is glossed.' In attempting to carry out this great scheme, he set before his eyes four cardinal points:

1. The publication of the best text of each work, with full information respecting the position of the book in the history of our language and literature, glossary and index in all cases being added.
2. The production of a body of authoritative early quotations for the use of the New English Dictionary.
3. The collection of materials for the history of our language and literature.
4. The collection of materials for the history of the social condition of the country at different periods. (This was an object specially dear to Furnivall's heart, as may be seen from his own contributions to the series.)

The outcome of these high aspirations has been the production of a library of about two hundred and fifty volumes, dealing with the whole range of mediæval knowledge and which moreover have been annotated with the aid of the latest scholarship. So great has been the output that it is difficult for the student to grasp the bearings of so considerable

a literature without some rough classification of the different branches of knowledge that have been dealt with.

The particulars may be grouped under six headings, a classification to a great extent arbitrary, but still such as will bring similar books together :

1. Books of recognized literary importance.
2. Arthurian and other Romances.
3. Old English Drama.
4. Religious Treatises.
5. Manners, including Old Surgery.
6. Dictionaries and Grammatical Tracts.

The Extra Series was formed in 1867 for the issue of re-edited works, and among its issues are Texts of special interest ; but as the division is not of fundamental importance, I have referred to the publications of both series as one.

#### I.—BOOKS OF RECOGNIZED LITERARY IMPORTANCE.

At the head of these I place Prof. Skeat's great edition of 'Pierce Plowman.' In 1866, as a preliminary survey of the ground, a pamphlet containing 'Parallel Extracts from twenty-nine MSS.' was issued. This was reprinted and practically rewritten by the editor in 1885, when the number of MSS. examined was raised to forty-five. Text A appeared in 1867, Text B in 1869, and Text C in 1873. The first portion of Part 4, containing the notes to Texts A, B, C, was issued in 1887 ; and the second portion, containing Preface and an elaborate Index, in 1884, when was completed a

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work which does great honour to English scholarship. The full apparatus presented to the reader gives rise to criticism, and a great discussion has arisen as to the authorship of this national poem, which has not yet closed. The views of the different distinguished combatants have been placed before the members, and they are of much interest.

Chaucer's Prose Works had been neglected, and it became the duty of the Society to reproduce them. The translation of Boethius, edited by R. Morris, appeared in 1868 (v.), and the work on the *Astrolabe*, edited by Prof. Skeat, in 1872 (xvi.). Thynne's interesting Notes on Speght's edition of Chaucer were issued in 1865 (9). An enlarged reprint, with much fresh information respecting Thynne collected by Dr. Furnivall, was issued in 1875. This is four times the size of the first issue.

Stirred by the discoveries of Henry Bradshaw on the correct order of the *Canterbury Tales*, and the reluctance of that great scholar to publish them, Furnivall in 1868 determined to start the Chaucer Society, and by his publication of the Six-text edition of the *Canterbury Tales* he brought the materials to the door of the future editor and made a standard edition possible. The labour of proof-reading in all parts of the country was enough to appal most men, but he worked on steadily at his self-imposed work for years, and in the midst of other exacting work he raised a noble monument to our great poet.

The Minor Poems followed in the same form, and a considerable amount of important literature



on Chaucer was also printed for the Society. Prof. Skeat has produced the long-wished-for standard edition of Chaucer, and has undertaken the closing up of a Society which has done a great work. While its main object was the settlement of Chaucer's text, it published also life records, essays and analogues and other work, unsuited to the parent Society. But it grew out of the Early English Text Society and must be reckoned to its credit.

Several of Caxton's Original Works have been reprinted and edited, such as the 'Book of Curtsye' (iii.), 'Alain Chartier's Curial' (liv.), 'Eneydos' (lvii.), 'Blanchardyn and Eglantine' (lviii.), 'Godfrey of Bologne, or Last Siege of Jerusalem' (lxiv.), and 'Dialogues, English and French' (lxxix.).

The works of Chaucer's contemporaries, Lydgate, Gower, and Hoccleve, are all represented in the list of publications. One of the great treasures among these publications is the volume of autotypes of the unique MS. of Beowulf, edited by Prof. Zupitza (77). The Facsimile of the 'Epinal Glossary,' a seventeenth century Saxon-Latin Dictionary, was produced and edited by Dr. Sweet in folio form as an extra volume in 1883.

Dr. Sweet edited Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care' (76, 82, 94, 114). The Old English version of Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History,' edited by Dr. Thomas Miller (95, 96, 110, 111), was at one time attributed to King Alfred, but this claim has now been abandoned. As an early translation of that most valuable work into the vulgar tongue, it must hold a very high

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place in this first division of literary and historical works produced by the Society. Ælfric's 'Metrical Lives of Saints' was edited by Dr. Skeat (76, 82, 94, 110).

Other interesting books in this class are the Earliest English Translation of the first three books of the 'De Imitatione Christi' of Thomas à Kempis, edited by Dr. J. E. Ingram (lxiii.); Wyclif's English Works, hitherto unprinted, edited by Dr. F. D. Matthew (74); Bishop Fisher's English Works, edited by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor (xxvii.); and Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch, etc. (113).

Of Scottish literature we find Barbour's 'Bruce,' edited by Dr. Skeat (xi., xxi., xxix., lv.). Lyndesay's Works were commenced in 1865. The 'Complaynt of Scotland,' edited by Sir James Murray, appeared in 1872 and 1873 (xvii., xviii.). William Lauder on the 'Dewtie of Kingis,' edited by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, was published in 1864 as one of the first four issues. Dr. Furnivall published Lauder's Minor Poems in 1870 (41).

### II.—ROMANCES.

One of the chief objects of the Society was the publication of the great cycle of Arthurian Romances, interest in which had been awakened by the poetic versions of Tennyson. Two texts out of the four produced in the first year were 'Arthur,' edited by Dr. Furnivall (2), a short and rapid sketch of the life and wars of 'the king of men' which occurs in an incomplete Latin

Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, belonging to the Marquis of Bath. The writer seems to have found dull Latin prose insufficient to express his feelings, so he broke out into English verse. 'Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight' was written by the author who produced the three beautiful alliterative poems which commenced the series.

These were followed by 'Lancelot of the Laik' (6), 'Morte Arthur' (8), 'The Prose Romance of Merlin,' 'Joseph of Arimathie, or the Holy Grail' (44), Lovelich's 'Holy Grail' (xx., xxiv., xxviii., xxx., xcv.), and the same author's 'Merlin' (cxiii.). The absolute identity of *u* and *n* in old manuscripts gives endless trouble to the transcriber, and in consequence this author's name has until lately been printed as 'Lonelich.'

Other Romances are 'William of Palerne, or William and the Werwolf' (i.), 'Havelock the Dane' (iv.), 'Kyng Horn' (14), 'Sir Bevis of Hamtoun' (xlv., xlviii.), 'Guy of Warwick,' 'Thomas of Ercildoun,' 'Generydes' (55, 70), the Laud 'Troy Book,' 'The Gest-Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy,' and the series of Charlemagne Romances.

### III.—OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.

The series of Religious Plays and Moralities is of great interest, more especially on account of the valuable introductions they contain, which will be very helpful to the author of the complete history of the English stage which some day may be produced.

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The Chester Plays were re-edited from MSS. by Dr. Heimling in 1892 (Part I. lxii.). The Digby Plays, edited by Furnivall for the New Shakspeare Society, and reissued in 1896 (lxx.). The Towneley Plays, with a full Introduction by Mr. A. W. Pollard (lxxi.), were published in 1897. The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, edited by Dr. H. Craig (lxxxvii.), were published in 1902. The Non-cycle Mystery Plays, edited by G. Waterhouse (civ.) came out in 1909. The Macro Morality Plays, edited by F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard (xci.), appeared in 1904; and Skelton's Moral Play 'Magnificence', edited by Dr. R. L. Ramsay, was published in 1908.

### IV.—RELIGIOUS TREATISES.

These form a large division of the Texts, and are varied both in merit and interest. In the 'Story of Genesis and Exodus' (7), edited by Morris from a unique MS. of the thirteenth century, the author has versified the most important facts contained in those two books, and has included portions of Numbers and Deuteronomy, so as to give a complete history of the Wanderings of the Israelites and the life of Moses. It is, however, in the Homilies and the Hymns we find information respecting the teaching of the Church and the manners of the times. 'Furnivall's collection of Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, the Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems' (24), is a delightful volume. These poems are full of a pure devotional feeling, and many of them exhibit their

authors as true poets. 'The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life, or Bids of the Virtues and Vices for the Soul of Man,' is a striking and vigorous poem, and there is a tender philosophy breathing through 'Revertere' (in English tunge 'turn agen') which is truly charming.

There are a set of service books and guides to devotion which are of great value, such as the 'Earliest Prose Psalter'; 'The Lay Folks' Mass Book' (71); 'The Lay Folks' Catechism' (118); 'The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book' (105, 109).

In Myrc's 'Duties of a Parish Priest' (about 1420) (31) we find instructions as to the questions to be asked of the penitent in confession. John Myrc was a Canon of Lilleshall, in Shropshire, who was acquainted with many ignorant priests. There is also a plentiful supply of information respecting the lives of Saints. Many other books of interest should be mentioned, such as the 'Old English Martyrology' (116), Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne' (1303), ed. Furnivall (119, 125), and his Meditacyons on the 'Soper of our Lorde' (60), and the great edition of the 'Cursor Mundi, Northumbrian of the 14th century in four Versions,' edited by Dr. Morris and issued in seven parts.

#### V.—ENGLISH MANNERS.

Although through Furnivall's consistent guiding the prefaces to most of the texts are made to show distinctly their bearings upon the manners and habits of English men and women, there is a very special division of the Society's work devoted to

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this instructive subject, and to this department Furnivall himself was a chief contributor. To prove this it is only necessary to mention his 'Babees Book and Manners and Meals in Olden Time' (32), containing several treatises on old world etiquette. The value of this book is much enhanced by Furnivall's Introduction on the subject of Education in Early England. This was the first of a series of interesting books.

Other important books in this class are Toulmin Smith's 'English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs,' 1389 (40), two fifteenth century Cookery Books (91), and the remarkable series of old books on Surgery.

Of the lighter books in this class are the ever famous 'Gesta Romanorum' (xxxiii.), the 'Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry,' edited by Thomas Wright (33), revised, with Forewords by Furnivall, and fresh notes, Glossary, and Index of phrases, and proverbs, by Mr. J. Munro, 1906. The last of these story books to be mentioned is 'The A B C of Tales,' edited by Mrs. Banks (126, 127).

'The Mediæval Records of a London City Church' (St. Mary-at-Hill, 1420-1559), edited by Mr. Littlehales (125, 128), are of considerable interest, as are 'The English Register of Godstow Nunnery' (129, 130), 'The English Register of Oseney Abbey' (133), both edited by Dr. Andrew Clark, and 'The Coventry Leet Book,' edited by Miss M. Dormer Harris (134, 135, 138).



## VI.—DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMATICAL TRACTS.

In 1865 I compiled a list of English Dictionaries for the Philological Society, out of which grew the proposal to publish a Dictionary Series, consisting of Huloet's 'Abcedarium Anglo-Latinum,' 1552; Withals, 'a little Dictionary for Children,' 1566 (collated with succeeding editions); Levins's 'Manipulus Vocabulorum,' 1570; Baret's 'Alvearie,' 1573, 1580; Horman's 'Vulgaria,' Pynson, 1519, and W. de Worde, 1530; also, from unprinted MSS., 'Catholicon Anglicum,' 1483, and 'Dictionary Anglo-Latinum,' B. M. Add. MSS., No. 15, 562.

The result was that I edited Levins's 'Manipulus' in 1867 (27), and Mr. Hertridge the 'Catholicon' in 1881 (75), and that in 1908 a new edition of the 'Promptorium Parvulorum' was produced by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew (cii.).

It was found that Huloet and Baret were too big to be undertaken with advantage by the Society. Some Grammatical Tracts in MS. which it was proposed to print were also postponed. Ellis's great work on Early English Pronunciation belongs to this class.

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It would be useful to give a chronological list of the various texts, but this is not the place for such a list. Furnivall in the tenth Report, 1874, produced an inventory up to that date commencing with the tenth and ending with seventeenth century. He added also a list of Dialectical Texts arranged under Northern, Midland, and Southern dialects.

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It is worthy of remark that the first Anglo-Saxon Text published was Alfred's version of Gregory in 1872, already mentioned. This was produced by Dr. Sweet, one of the Society's most distinguished editors, who for many years did yeoman service for it.

Great changes have taken place in nomenclature during the existence of the Society. In early days the term 'Semi-Saxon' was not uncommon. There is still some vagueness in the list of publications in the use of 'Old English.' Dr. Sweet used with advantage the more definite 'Oldest English.'

It is impossible to name, except incidentally, the distinguished editors who have given their gratuitous labours in the production of the library just analysed. Some have given a life's work of devotion, and are still happily with us, but many have passed away. Their names, however, will always be remembered with respect by those who have known them and have benefited by their labours.

Those who were already attached to the study were attracted to the Society at its foundation and ready to help, while new recruits were gathered within the fold, inspired by Furnivall's contagious enthusiasm. Scholars from abroad were appealed to and with success, as may be seen by the number of distinguished Germans on the list of editors.

In 1901 the Committee formed to promote the special Testimonial to Dr. Furnivall issued 'An English Miscellany, presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his 75th birthday. Oxford, Clarendon Press.' One of the chapters in this book was devoted to 'The Early English Text Society in

Germany,' by Dr. Richard Wülcker, who remarks on the value of its publications to Friedrich Koch, to Grein, to Jakob Schipper, to Ten Brink, and, of course, to Stratmann, in their important works, and adds: 'The activity of the Early English Text Society has instilled life into the study of Early English both in England and Germany, and if this branch of knowledge is to flourish and to take a worthy place by the side of its fellow branches, it will be in great part due to the men who for many years have directed the work of the Early English Text Society, especially to its founder, Dr. Frederick Furnivall.'

There is much more to be said of Dr. Furnivall, but we have here only to deal with his earnest endeavour to promote English studies, more particularly as they relate to our early language and literature.

His whole life was devoted to the advancement of philological study in the widest sense. He started the New English Dictionary, and made a great effort to print the whole of old English Literature still remaining in MS. He gave scholars the materials from which histories could be compiled. Yet he told Mr. Dyboski, 'I never cared a bit for philology; my chief aim has been throughout to illustrate the social condition of the English people in the past.'

Of course in a sense he was right, as he was not specially a philological scholar, but he earnestly desired to advance philological study, and both

<sup>1</sup> 'Record,' p. 4.

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knew and adopted the best means for the attainment of this object. In the same sense he was not a bibliographer, but he thoroughly sympathised with the bibliographer and understood his aims. One of the first things he did when arranging for the quotations to the Dictionary was to make out a list of books to be read for the purpose. When the Early English Text Society was founded he made out a valuable list of manuscripts to be taken in hand as soon as might be, a list, which, in spite of continuous printing, still grows in size.

(1) The conception and management for near fifty years of a Society such as that here described; (2) the carrying on for many years of the collection of materials for the great English Dictionary; (3) the management of the Philological Society, as Secretary, for nearly sixty years; (4) the editorship of the Percy Folio MS. (with Prof. Hales), and (5) the foundation of the Ballad Society, the Chaucer Society, the Wyclif Society, the New Shakspere Society, and the Browning Society, must appear to ordinary mortals a most amazing record of accomplishment for one man, even during a long lifetime.

These exploits may be considered as forming the main stream of Furnivall's life, but they were not sufficient to prevent him from taking an interest in a multitude of other objects.

He was always engaged on something, but had time to chat with a friend, taking the greatest interest in that friend's work, and giving him advice, followed later in the day by a postcard containing useful references.

He was a great lover of Nature, and the record of his outdoor pursuits, particularly on the river, would fill volumes. He was always joyous, and throughout life was filled with the enthusiasm of youth.


His steadiness and persistence in the carrying out of all he had planned (largely work at the desk) seems antagonistic to his equally systematic out-of-door life. But the two sides of his character were welded together.

Dr. Furnivall's end was heroic, for when he knew that he had but a few short months to live, he set himself to arrange for the future, so that the continuance of the work in which he was interested should not suffer by his death. His friends and fellow-workers, who deplore his loss, are determined to do their utmost that his wishes shall be carried out.

His dearest wish was that the Early English Text Society should go on and prosper. He knew how much had still to be done, but he hoped that the public, when they realised this, would do their part to ensure that the building already raised to such a goodly height from the ground should not be stinted of any number of further storeys needed for its due completion.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

## THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES.

LTHOUGH this early compilation of the tragedies of English History prior to the reign of Elizabeth is not familiar to the average reader, it is gradually assuming more importance in the eyes of scholars and historians of English literature. When we realize that a large number of the Elizabethan historical dramas were based in part upon this metrical adaptation of the chronicles of Fabian and Halle, and that its various parts ran through eleven editions, between 1559 and 1610, we are forced to admit that until lately its importance has been underrated. The only modern edition of it appears to be that of Joseph Haslewood published in three volumes in 1815 from the text of 1587 collated with the other editions. In 1891 Mr. Fleay devoted an appendix in his 'Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama' (vol. i. 17-20) to indicating its contents and the use made of them by the Elizabethan dramatists. In 1898 a valuable little monograph on it was printed, unhappily only for private circulation, by Mr. W. F. Trench, and lately it has been made the subject of an admirable chapter in the 'Cambridge History of English Literature' by Professor J. W. Cunliffe. To Trench and Cunliffe



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belongs the credit of assigning the original plan to the printer, Edward Whitchurch, instead of to Thomas Sackville, as had been previously done. Sackville was only nineteen years old when the first part of the 'Mirror' was planned some time before 1554, and probably did not become interested in it until Baldwin took it up.

Edward Whitchurch had apparently intended to reprint Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's 'Fall of Princes,' which was first published by Pynson in 1494, but for some reason he gave up his business and sold out to John Wayland and R. Tottel, who each carried out for himself the plan of his predecessor. Tottel's edition appeared in 1554, and Wayland's, although undated, may be assigned to the same year or perhaps the next. A few copies of the latter contain at the end a title-page as follows: 'A memorial of suche Princes, as since the tyme of King Richarde the Seconde have been unfortunate in the Realme of England. Londini, In Aedibus Johannis Waylandi.' On the verso of this is Wayland's license, dated 20th October, 1553, in which Queen Mary is styled 'defendour of the faith and in earth of the Church of Englande and also of Ireland, the supreme head.' Mary was relieved of this title by statute 4th January, 1555, which would seem to establish the date of Wayland's edition of Lydgate as 1554, and show that the idea of the English continuation of Boccaccio's work was then sufficiently developed to suggest the printing of a title.

It is probable that Whitchurch wished to publish a continuation of Boccaccio's work consisting

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of the stories of the various English princes and nobles who had perished because of an evil exercise of power, and turned to William Baldwin as a professional poet, because Whitchurch had published books for him in 1547 and 1549. Baldwin gives an account of the circumstances which led to the printing of the book in his introduction to the first edition, which is in part as follows:

‘When the printer had purposed with hym selfe to printe Lydgates books of the fall of Princes, and had made priuye thereto, many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsailed by dyuers of them, to procure to haue the storye contynewed from where as Bochas lefte, unto this presente time, chiefly of suche as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande . . . . Whiche aduyse lyked him so well, that he required me to take paynes therein: but . . . I refused utterly to undertake it, excepte I might haue the helpe of suche, as in wyt were apte, in learning allowed, and in iudgemente and estymacion able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinking euen so to shift my handes . . . . But shortly after dyuers learned men consented to take upon theym parte of the Trauayle . . . . To make therefore a statemente for the matter, they al agreed that I shoulde usurpe Bochas roome, and the wretched princes complayne unto me: and tooke upon themselues every man for his parte to be sundrye personages.’

The ‘dyuers learned men’ who were interested in this enterprise were Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, George Ferrers, Thomas Phaer, Sir Thomas Chaloner, the elder Cavyll, — Dolman, Francis Seager. These with William Baldwin agreed to take the various characters and tell their

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stories. Sackville, who was the only real poet among them, and probably the moving spirit of the enterprise after it passed into Baldwin's hands, wrote the tragedy of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and the celebrated 'Induction' which precedes it; this was not, however, ready for the first edition, but appears in the second, that of 1563. This 'Induction' rises to the height of genuine poetry, and is one of the finest examples of its kind in our language. Sackville was soon drawn away from literature to enter the field of statecraft, but this poem and his part of the 'Tragedy of Gorboduc' have placed him among the great names of Elizabethan literature. Sackville's idea was to begin with the first settlement of England, and to continue into the reign of Elizabeth, but that was not fulfilled until the sixth edition in 1610. This first edition of what was afterwards called the 'Last Part,' speaking chronologically, covers the period from the reign of Richard II., 1388, to the death of Edward IV., 1483.

In his 'Epistle' Baldwin gives the following account of the attempt made to print it by Wayland as a continuation to his edition of Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes,' 1554, when it was forbidden by Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor. From the end links of 'Shore's Wife' and 'Michael Joseph the Blacke Smith,' it is evident that they were both written prior to the death of Queen Mary in 1558, although not published until the second edition in 1563. Baldwin says: 'The worke was begun, and part of it printed iiii yeare agoe, but hyndered by the lord chancellour that

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then was, nevertheles, through ye means of my lord Stafford, lately perused & licensed. When I first tooke it in hand, I had the helpe of many graunted & offered of sum, but of few performed, scarce of any. So that wher I entended to have continued it to Quene Maries time, I have ben faine to end it much sooner: yet so, that it may stande for a parterne, till the rest be ready, which with God's grace (if I may have anye helpe) shall be shortly.'

This first edition, published by Thomas Marshe, consists of nineteen legends (although twenty are called for in the table, the legend of Duke Humphrey does not appear) with connecting short prose notices giving an account of the matter, some remarks on the metre of the poem, and in some cases the author's name. The text is preceded by the title, an Epistle 'To the Nobilitye and all other in office,' and an 'Epistle to the Reader,' both by Baldwin. The title reads:

'A Myrroure For Magistrates. Wherein may be seen by example of other, with howe greuous plagues vices are punished: and howe frayle and unstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those, whom Fortune see-meth most highly to fauour. (Quotation, 1 line) Anno. 1559. Londini, in aedibus Thomas Marshe.'

The book was re-issued with some additions in 1563, 1571, 1574, and 1575, and in 1574 John Higgins, moved by a desire to extend the relation back to the first settlement of the island, issued a 'First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates,' in which he gives sixteen stories of tragical deaths from

## THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES. 27

Albanaet, 1085 B.C., to Nennius, 52 B.C. The editions of Baldwin's work published after this were entitled 'The Last Part.' Higgins prefaced his work with an introduction in which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Baldwin; this was reprinted in 1575. In 1578 Thomas Blennerhasset wrote a collection of tragical stories intended to fill in the gap between Higgins and Baldwin, and consisting of twelve tales ranging from 17 to 1066 A.D. In the same year was issued the sixth edition of Baldwin's work containing the additional legends of Good Duke Humphrey and Eleanor Cobham, his wife, by Ferrers. These were called for as one legend in the 'Table of Contents' of the first edition, but were not ready; and in this sixth edition Duke Humphrey is noted in the Table, and appears as the eleventh tale, while Eleanor Cobham is a separate story not mentioned in the Table, but inserted on seven unnumbered lines following Fol. 39 and directly preceding the legend of Humphrey. In 1587 Higgins issued a work comprising the third edition of his part, with twenty-three additional tales running from 612 B.C. to 219 A.D., and also the seventh edition of Baldwin's 'Last Part,' with four additional legends. This is prefaced by Higgins' 'Epistle to the Nobility,' and 'Preface to the Reader,' Newton's poetical 'Epistle to the Reader,' and the author's 'Induction' by Higgins. Finally, in 1610 Richard Niccols combined the three parts, omitting six legends, and added at the end Drayton's poem on Cromwell and 'A Winter Night's Vision,' and 'England's Eliza' by himself. In this work all

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the prose connecting links were omitted, and the prefatory matter includes only Higgins' 'Epistle to the Nobilitie,' a brief 'Note' by the editor, and Newton's and Higgins' poetical 'Introductions.' Preceding the portion of the book edited by Baldwin is another 'Note' by the editor, Niccols, and Sackville's 'Induction'; and introducing the new matter is a rhyming 'Induction' also by Niccols. Below are found tables giving the contents, arrangement, and author of each edition of each part.

HENRIETTA C. BARTLETT.



TABLE I.

		Baldwin,					Higgin, Nicols,		
		1559	1563	1571	1574	1575	1578	1587	1590
Robert Tressilian, by Ferrers	. 1388	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	52
2 Roger Mortimers	. 1329	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42
Thomas of Woodstock, by Ferrers	. 1397	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	43
Lord Mowbray, by Baldwin.	. 1398	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	44
Richard II., by Ferrers	. 1399	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	45
Owen Glendower, by Baldwin	. 1401	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	46
" " Phaer									
Henry Percy, by Baldwin?	. 1407	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	47
Richard, Earl of Cambridge.	. 1415	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	48
Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury	. 1428	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	49
James I. of Scotland	. 1437	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	omit- ted
William de la Pole, by Baldwin	. 1450	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	53
Jack Cade	. 1450	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	54
Richard, Duke of York, by Baldwin	. 1460	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	55
Lord Clifford	. 1461	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	56
Tipstoft, Earl of Worcester	. 1470	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	57
Richard and John Nevil	. 1471	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	58
Henry VI.	. 1471	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	59
George, Duke of Clarence	. 1478	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	60
		18	18	19	19	19	20	61	70

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Edward IV., by Skelton . . .	1483	19	19	20	20	20	20	20	62	71
Antony Woodville, Lord Rivers, by Baldwin? . . .	1483									
Lord Hastings, by Dolman . . .	1483		20	21	21	21	22	22	63	72
Henry, Duke of Buckingham, with Induction, by Sackville . . .	1483		21	22	22	22	23	23	64	73
Collinbourne, by Baldwin . . .	1483		22	23	23	23	24	24	65	74
Richard, Duke of Gloster, by Seagers . . .	1483		23	24	24	24	25	25	66	75
Jane Shore, by Churchyard . . .	1485		24	25	25	25	26	26	68	omitted
Edmond, Duke of Somerset, by Ferrers . . .	1483		25	27	27	27	28	28	73	78
Michael Joseph, the Blacke Smith, by Cavyll . . .	1454		26	13	13	13	14	14	55	64
Eleanor Cobham, by Ferrers . . .	1496		27	26	26	26	27	27	69	76
Humphrey, Duke of Gloster, by Ferrers . . .	1440						10*	10*	51	60
Sir Nicholas Burdette, by Higgins . . .	1440						11	11	52	61
James IV. of Scotland, by Dingley . . .	1441								70	77
Flodden Field, by Dingley . . .	1513								71	omitted
Rise and Fall of Wolsey, by Churchyard . . .	1513								72	omitted
	1530								79	74

Probably almost all of the anonymous legends recorded above were written by William Baldwin.

TABLE II.

	B.C.	Higgins.			Niccols. 1610
		1574	1575	1587	
Albanact, by Higgins .	1085	1	1	1	1
Humber           " .	1085	2	2	2	2
Locrine           " .	1064	3	3	3	3
Elstride           " .	1064	4	4	4	4
Sabrina           " .	1064	5	5	5	5
Madan           " .	1009	6	6	6	6
Manlius           " .	1009	7	7	7	7
Mempricius       " .	989	8	8	8	8
Bladud           " .	844	9	9	9	9
Cordila           " .	800	10	10	10	10
Morgan           " .	766	11	11	11	11
Ferrex           " .	491	12	12	13	13
Porrex           " .	491	13	13	14	14
Kimarus           " .	321	14	14	19	19
Morindus          " .	303	15	15	20	20
Nennius           " .	52	16	16	24	24
Irenglas           " .	51		17	25	25
Iago           " .	612			12	12
Pinnar           " .	441			15	15
Stater           " .	441			16	16
Rudacke					
of Wales       " .	441			17	17
Brennus           " .	441			18	18
Emerianus       " .	235			21	21
Cherinnus       " .	137			22	22
Varianus          " .	136			23	23
Julius Cæsar     " .	42			26	26
	A.D.				
Nero           " .	39			27	27
Caligula       " .	42			28	28
Guiderius       " .	44			29	29
Lelius Homo     " .	46			30	30
Tiberius       " .	56			31	31
Domitius       " .	70			32	32
Galba           " .	71			33	33

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Otho, by Higgins	.	71	34	34
Vitellus	"	71	35	35
Londricus	"	80	36	36
Severus	"	213	37	37
Fulgentius	"	213	38	38
Geta	"	214	39	39
Caracalla	"	219	40	40

TABLE III.

		A.D.	Blenner- hasset, 1578	Niccola, 1610 omit- ted
Guiderius	.	17	1	
Carassus	.	219	2	41
Helena	.	289	3	42
Vortiger	.	446	4	43
Uter Pendragon	.	500	5	44
Cadwallader	.	683	6	45
Sigebert	.	755	7	46
Ebba	.	870	8	47
Alured	.	872	9	omit- ted
Egelrede	.	1016	10	48
Edric	.	1018	11	48*
Harold	.	1066	12	49
Lord Cromwell, by Drayton		1540		80

These, save the last, were all written by Blennerhasset.

## A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LAMENT ON 'TOO MANY BOOKS.'

**T**HE multitude of books is an old topic of lamentation from the days of Solomon to those of Lord Rosebery. Some of the men of the seventeenth century were dismayed by the prodigality with which the then new art of printing had increased the size of libraries. One of these pessimistic scholars was Martin Despois, from whose MS. remains a selection of 'Poésies' in French, Latin and Greek was edited by Reinhold Dezeimeris and printed in a limited edition at Bordeaux in 1875. One of these poems deals with what appeared to Despois to be the melancholy frequency of books somewhere about the year 1602. It was occasioned by the publication of the 'Elenchus' of Clessius, the scope of which is explained in the shop-window style of title-page then in vogue:

Vnius Seculi; eiusque Virorum Literatorum Monumentis tum florentissimi; tum fertilissimi: ab Anno Dom. 1500. ad 1602. Nundinarum Autumnalium inclusiue, elenchus consummatissimus librorum; Hebraei, Greci, Latini, Germani, aliorumque Europae Jdiomatum; typorum aeternitati consecratorum. Quo quicquid

III.

D

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in rebus diuinis, & humanis à magni nominis Theologis, Jureconsultis, Medicis, Philosophis, Historicis, &c. literis demandatum est, commodissima Methodo deprehendere licet. Desumptus partim ex singularum Nundinarum Catalogis, partim ex instructissimis vbiq; locorum Bibliothecis: atque in Tomos duos partitus; quorum vtilitas & dispositionis ratio in Praefatione habetur. Auctore Joanne Clessio Winneccensi, Hannoio, Philosopho ac Medico. Cum gratia & priuilegio Caes. Maiest. speciali ad decennium.

Frankofurti, Ex Officina Typographica Ioannis Saurii, impensis Petri Kopffi; Anno M.DC.II.

The book is in two volumes, the second being devoted entirely to German books. There is no Preface, but a lengthy dedication to Johann Reichard Brombsern, whose library is highly praised by the bookseller Kopff. The book, according to Clement (t. vii. p. 186), is founded on one printed in 1592 at Frankfurt by Nicolas Bassé. Of Cless there appear to be no biographical particulars. The poem is as follows:

Forsitan hic aliquis numerosa volumina cernens  
 Quis depulsa fuit sordida barbaries,  
 Admirans secli portentososque labores,  
 Cultaque tam variis dotibus ingenia,  
 Temporibus priscis aequabit tempora nostra,  
 Aetatis gaudens fertilate suae.  
 At mihi non risus molles, non gaudia laeta,  
 Sed potius lacrymas elicit iste liber;  
 Ac veluti aspiciens montis de culmine Xerxes  
 Instructa innumeris agmina militibus  
 Flevit, mente sua volvens tot millibus ante  
 Centenos annos esse necesse mori,

Sic ego, dinumerans homines qui robore multo  
Implerunt doctis Musica castra libris,  
Qui voluere suo mundum summittere Phoebos,  
Ut quondam Xerxi Medica turba suo,  
Quis ita siccata est potantibus Hippocrene  
Alta ut siccavit flumina Persa bibens,  
Hos, inquam, numerans curisque laboreque fractos,  
Dum contra inscitiam bella animosa gerunt.  
Palladium pugnam pugnantibus evenit illud  
Quod Mavorte satis adsolet accidere :  
Quaerentes longam per dura pericula famam  
Mors rapit, et tumulo gesta virumque tegit.  
Ecce fatigarunt multi mentemque manumque,  
Heu ! sibi superantes posse parere decus ;  
Sed labor in cassum fuit his : periire libelli,  
Indice de solo pars bona nota mihi.  
Scilicet et castris in nostris caeca viget Sors :  
Nutat vita, habitu gloria difficilis.

A rough rendering may be permitted :

Some who may look on these recording leaves,  
And see the long array of goodly books,  
All soldiers in a grand and steadfast war  
Against the enslavement of the human mind—  
Barbaric darkness of a squalid past—  
Will burn with admiration for this host,  
And in the glories of to-day will see  
The golden age returning to the earth.  
To me this book brings tears and not delight,  
Rather am I like him who from a hill  
Beheld his soldiers countless on the plain,  
And wept that when a century had passed,  
All these—nor one escape—would sleep in death ;  
So I when counting o'er these gallant men,  
These soldiers of Apollo, who would bring  
The world beneath the Muses' gentle sway ;



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Men whose deep draughts have emptied Hippocrene,  
 Even as the Persian drank whole rivers dry—  
 As I look over this great host ; these men  
 Worn out by toil the while they warfare waged  
 The ignorant folly of the world to slay,  
 My heart is saddened by their hapless lot.<sup>1</sup>  
 Minerva's soldiers ofttime have the fate  
 That also happens to the sons of Mars.  
 Death strikes them while by daring deeds  
 They seek to snatch the laurel leaf of Fame.  
 Death covers with the tomb both deeds and men.  
 So is it, many of Minerva's band  
 Have strained both mind and hand and hoped alas !  
 To gain a mead of glory for themselves.  
 Their labours have been vain, they are forgot.  
 Their books have perished ; nought remains  
 Except their titles in a catalogue.  
 So is it in our camp—Minerva's camp—  
 Blind Chance prevails, life totters from its throne,  
 And glory, loved by all, is hard to grasp.

This old French scholar anticipates the very spirit of Lord Rosebery's paradox<sup>2</sup> at the opening of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, 25th October,

<sup>1</sup> The allusions are to the passages in Herodotus who describes the army of Xerxes as drinking up the Scamander, and Xerxes himself as viewing his troops from a throne of white marble, and after declaring himself happy shedding tears at the certainty of death for all those whom he saw. ('Herodotus' VII. 43-46.)

<sup>2</sup> This volume, which records the inspirations of the leisure hours of Despois, is no doubt one of those that Lord Rosebery would hold to be superfluous. Yet should he ever adventure upon writing a history of his family, there is one epigram that might interest him from that unexpected point of view. Despois, as a member of the Roman Communion, had a strong dislike to Dr. Gilbert Primrose (the cousin of that Archibald Primrose from whom the Earls of Rosebery descend), who was the Minister of the Protestant Church at Bordeaux, which was the native city of

1911. Those who have had to use libraries extensively, especially for purposes of literary or historical research, know that the real trouble of British libraries is not the multitude but the fewness of their books. The city libraries are a source of just pride to the communities by whom they are owned and used, but often the investigator finds their resources insufficient for his purposes; and there are times when even the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Libraries are sought in vain for the book that is wanted. There is not a book in the Mitchell Library that may not be turned to good account, either by some eager home student or, by some stranger from afar who seeks the hospitality of Glasgow's new and noble palace of learning.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

Despois. The controversies of that time were more than plain-spoken, they were too often the occasion of much malignant mud-throwing. In this vein is Despois's epigram:

*In Gilbertum Primarosam, insolentissimum apostatam.*

Sancticolas et saxicolas nos Primrosa dicit,

Quin et torticolas, denique Papicolas.

Primrosa cautus homo est; quod telum torquet in hostes

Nemo retorquebit, Primrosa acutus homo est;

In cultu peccamus, at hic non peccat in illo:

Non etenim novit quem colat ipse Deum.

This is perhaps best left untranslated. In the unprinted MSS. of Despois, there are many other references that may be useful to the future biographer of Gilbert Primrose.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

**L**ONDON, the greatest and most important city of the world, the capital of England and of the British Empire, presents materials for almost every branch of study. No modern city can excel it in its vast, manifold, and prolonged accumulation of human experiences. There is a veritable treasury of romance in the origin and development of this wonderful city. With records as early as Roman times (61 A.D., see Tacitus 'Annal.' lib. xiv. c. 33), and distinct evidences of a yet earlier existence, it affords rich ground for the historian, and especially for the historian of British public institutions. As a city it is distinctive in that it has enjoyed, with few exceptions, an absolute political freedom. Its industrial and commercial enterprise has never been fettered by the taxation of feudal lords. The city ruled over its own dependent districts, and knew no overlord except the king. Thus the study of the history of London is essentially the study of the natural unfettered development of England as a nation, and is of nearly equal interest to the provincial and to the Londoner.

The material for this study, though varied and extensive, is somewhat scattered. It is to be found in original records and in contemporary books and periodicals, whilst buildings, names, streets, etc., also afford valuable assistance. Research students have used these sources as far as possible, though the time necessary to investigate unindexed sources renders exhaustive work practically impossible. The result of this research work has been embodied in books and periodicals, till a very extensive literature has developed. An endeavour is now being made to compile a comprehensive bibliographical index to this literature.

Wm. Oldys (1696-1761) compiled a manuscript 'Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to the City of London, its Laws, Customs, Magistrates; its Diversions, Public Buildings; its Misfortunes, viz., Plagues, Fires, &c., and of everything that has happened remarkable in London from 1521 to 1758, with some occasional remarks.' This folio manuscript was bought by Mr. Davies, who sold it to Mr. Steevens, whence it passed to Sir John Hawkins, whose library was destroyed by fire. It is partially preserved in Gough's 'British Topography,' Mr. Steevens having lent it to Gough to assist him in compiling that work.

Wm. Upcott (1779-1845), who published in 1818 his 'Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works relating to English Topography,' in three volumes, made large manuscript collections towards a supplementary volume on London. The idea of a London Bibliography was discussed in the 'London Argus' by the late Mr. Harland-

Oxley and others; but this does not appear to have matured into a practical scheme.

Dr. Charles Gross, of Harvard University, published in 1900 his 'Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485,' which is arranged in such a manner that it is useful to the local as well as to the national historian. His 'Bibliography of British Municipal History,' published in the series of 'Harvard Historical Studies,' is also a valuable guide, and the 'Projected Bibliography of National History' (see 'Athenæum,' 16th September, 1911, p. 325), which is to supplement the work of Dr. Gross, will doubtless prove very useful. The only other guides to the literature of London are such works as Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica,' Courtney's 'Register of National Bibliography,' Anderson's 'British Topography,' the 'Catalogue of Books and Tracts relating to London and the Suburbs,' issued by Sotheby in 1872, other sale lists, and the various library catalogues. Of the last mentioned, the 'British Museum Catalogue' and Mr. Fortescue's 'Subject Index' come first, whilst the catalogues of the Guildhall Library, the Library of the London Institution, the London Library with the Subject Index, the catalogue of Gough's Collection at the Bodleian, and other London library catalogues, which need not be enumerated, are worthy of notice. Crace's Catalogue of Maps, etc., is also indispensable.

Quite recently the question of a London bibliography has again attracted attention. In 1899, Mr. C. P. Hale wrote to 'Notes and Queries'

calling attention to the necessity for such a compilation; and in May, 1910, Mr. Fred. A. Edwards renewed the appeal in the same periodical.

Before the latter appeal appeared, the present scheme had been inaugurated. It originated among a small group of students formerly members of the seminar on Historical Sources conducted at the London School of Economics by Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., the secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records appointed in October, 1910. A meeting was called (29th April, 1910), to which some of the staff of the Victoria Counties History, and others likely to be interested in the scheme, were invited. At this meeting it was decided to form a group, each member of the group undertaking to work on co-operative lines. In this class of work, probably more than in any other, accuracy and thoroughness are more likely if it be undertaken as a labour of love than if it be done at the bidding of a taskmaster, and though the best bibliographical work has in the past been the result of individual effort, co-operation was considered desirable to prevent overlapping. Mr. Kenneth H. Vickers, who has long cherished the idea of a similar scheme, was appointed President of the Group, and Miss Helene Hadley undertook the secretarial duties.

Subsequent meetings were held for the adoption of rules for entries, and a rough scheme of classification was devised. For these we are largely indebted to the President. As the various administrative divisions and boundaries of London are liable to alteration from time to time, it was

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decided to include the area covered by the London Postal District with Epping Forest, Richmond and Kew. The original idea was to work up the manuscript collections in the British Museum and the Record Office for the purpose of providing adequate local histories, in a manner similar to that adopted by the late Dr. W. A. Copinger for the county of Suffolk, and described to the Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries in July, 1907. After considerable discussion it was decided to deal with the printed matter first. This is no small task, as it is the intention, not only to include books, but also articles, maps, etc., in periodicals and in the transactions of societies which have the slightest bearing on London history and topography. It has been decided to aim at a very comprehensive bibliography, and whilst the workers to a large extent exercise their own judgment as to what should be given, it is considered far better to give what may be unnecessary than to omit anything that might be of value. With this object in view, periodical publications, with the exception of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' are carefully gone through from cover to cover, practically no reliance being placed on existing indexes.

The bibliography is being compiled on cards, which for the time being will be stored in the strong room at the London County Hall, by permission of the Clerk of the London County Council, Sir Laurence Gomme. The cards will be arranged under subjects, the primary division into six main classes, being distinguished by colour. The main



classes, with the colour of the card used in each case, are—I. Ecclesiastical, blue; II. Historical and Administrative, green; III. Social, Economic, and Industrial, yellow; IV. Geographical, Geological, etc., pink; V. Sources, salmon; VI. Topographical, white. The scheme of classification in its present state of development is given below:

### I. ECCLESIASTICAL (Blue card).

Church History.	Shrines.	Sects and noncon-
Church Goods.	Pilgrimages.	formity.
Church Lands.	Clergy.	Missions.
Religious Houses.	Visitations.	Sermons.
Ecclesiastical Taxa-	Diocese.	Non-Christian religion.
tion.	Heresies.	Biography.

### II. HISTORICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE (Green card).

Constitutional.	Musters.	Hygiene.
Courts.	Insurrections.	Cemeteries.
Riots.	Sanitation.	Lighting.
Water Supply.	Political History.	River and Bridge.
(Rating and Taxa-	Military.	Ports and Docks.
tion.)	Police.	Wards.
Administrative.	Public Health.	Biography.

### III. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND INDUSTRIAL (Yellow card).

Customs.	Theatres.	Manufacturers.
Freedom.	Education.	Trading Companies.
Guilds.	Libraries.	Furniture.
Livery Companies.	Schools.	Fairs.
Freemen and }	University.	Pageants and Shows.
Apprentices. }	Clubs.	Hospitals. Charities.
Plagues.	Hotels.	Museums. Banks.
Great Fire.	Finance.	Art Schools and Gal-
Amusements.	Insurance.	leries.
Exhibitions.	Industries.	Biography. Dialects.

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## IV. GEOGRAPHICAL, GEOLOGICAL, ETC. (Pink card).

Biology.	Botany and Flora.	Meteorology and
Prehistoric	Natural History and	Climatology.
Archaeology.	Zoology.	Biography.
Anthropology.	Geology, Mineralogy, & Palaeontology.	

## V. SOURCES (Salmon card).

Charters.	Traacts.	Fines.
Descriptions.	Chronicles.	Wills.
Population Returns.	Directories.	Diaries.
Bibliographies.	Gazeteers.	Letter-books.
Foreign Impressions.	Statistics.	Biography.

## VI. TOPOGRAPHICAL (White card).

Parks and Gardens.	Districts.	Buildings.
Guide books.	Dictionaries.	Streets.
Inns of Court.	The Tower.	Place names.
Squares.	Parishes.	Biography.

It may be interesting to compare this draft with the decimal scheme of classification for a London Bibliography devised by Mr. Charles Welch and printed as part of the interesting paper on 'London Municipal Literature' which he read before the Bibliographical Society in June, 1894. (Transactions, ii. 49-80.) It should be noted, however, that Mr. Welch, who was at that time Librarian of the Guildhall Library, was mainly concerned with the City of London.

**GENERAL:** Guides, Dictionaries, Essays, Periodicals, Societies, Tours and Travels, Directories, —, Bibliography and Libraries (1-9).

**THEOLOGY AND RELIGION:** Controversies, Government, Visitations and pastoral letters, Church history, Sects, Institutions, Missions, Sermons, Non-Christian Religions (10-19).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON. 45

- SOCIAL LIFE:** Ceremonials, Pageants and entertainments, Clubs and taverns, Spies, Fairs, Street Life, Amusements, Theatres, etc., Miscellaneous, Education (20-29).
- CONSTITUTION:** Charters and Customs, Courts—administrative, Courts—judicial, Elections, Offices, Mayoralty, Livery Companies, Freemen and Apprentices, Public Bodies (30-39).
- ADMINISTRATION:** Poor, Police, Prisons, Light and Water, Markets and food, Sanitary, Roads and conveyance, Associations, Other (40-49).
- COMMERCE:** Finance, Bank of England and banking, Old trading companies, Insurance, Docks and Shipping, Coal trade, Taxes and duties, Various industries, Companies and Associations (50-59).
- LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART:** Poetry and Drama, Prose, Statistics, Geology, Botany, Natural History, Climate and health, Art, Societies and Institutions (60-69).
- HISTORY:** Political history, Military history, Trials, Plots and insurrections, Plagues, Great Fire, Notable events, Biography, Archaeology (70-79).
- TOPOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION:** Wards, Parish and Church histories, Ecclesiastical Architecture, Public buildings, Commercial and Domestic Architecture, Street improvements, Thames and tributaries, Bridges, maps and views (80-89).
- SUBURBS—EXTRA-MURAL LONDON:** Liberties, Tower, Inns of Court, Palaces and Government Offices, Parks and gardens, Westminster, Westminster Abbey, Southwark, Outer parishes and districts (90-99).

Mr. Welch's scheme suffers to some extent from the effect of adjusting the various subject divisions to fit a decimal notation. That the decimal notation is eminently fitted for a classification scheme which is to be used for the arrangement of books,

## 46 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

is proved by the wide vogue of the Dewey system. In bibliographical work, however, a record is made of what has been written on particular subjects, and the object is to make the subject divisions and sub-divisions as clear, well-defined, and simple as possible. The clarity and simplicity of a scheme are often adversely affected when any other cause than utility is allowed to influence the arrangement.

Our own classification scheme is to some extent tentative and subject to revision and expansion. It is merely a rough draft devised with an entirely utilitarian point of view, in order that the work might be put in hand as soon as possible. The rules as given below are also subject to revision.

### RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS.

- I. Give author's surname, followed by all initials. Compound names should in general be entered under the second, as 'FISHER, Geo. Hayes'; but when hyphenated reverse this treatment, as 'PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, Rev. O.'
- II. Give full title, omitting sub-title, the gist of which should appear in the copyist's personal note.
- III. Give date and place of publication: in general the latest edition should be selected, but the number of earlier ones should be added.
- IV. Give number of volumes, or in case of magazine articles, the number of pages.
- V. Note Illustrations or Maps, and indicate the addition of Bibliographies by B.
- VI. Designate works of 100 pages and under by P (pamphlet).
- VII. Underscore the names of magazines or scientific journals.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON. 47

- VIII. Leave a wide top margin for final letters and numbering.
- IX. Insert in the top left-hand corner an indication of the period covered by the text, *e.g.*, General—1500; 1500-1600; 1600-1700; 1700-1800; 1800-1900; 1900-2000.
- X. Add a personal note briefly descriptive of the volume or pamphlet, and based on a brief examination of the work.
- XI. Articles collected in book form are to be treated like magazine articles, *e.g.*, WHEATLEY, H. B., London (in Pepys' Time), in 'Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in.' 1889, London, pp. 100-115.
- XII. Make free use of cross references and duplicate entries:—*e.g.*, Stow's Survey of London is a Source, class V., but the chapters should be given separately in the appropriate class as VI., Stow, John. Bishops-gate Ward, see Survey of London, Book II. ch. VI., pp. 90-109. Again, St. Alphage's Charities will appear in III., and again in VI., in the latter case under Greenwich.

The cards, which are five inches by three inches, are divided one inch from the top by double lines. The only entry above these lines, made by the indexer, is the date, which in accordance with rule IX. is given in the top left-hand corner. The remaining space above the lines is left for subject headings, letters and numbers, in the final classification scheme. In accordance with rule X., each entry will be annotated in such a way that it will convey the substance, the mode of treatment and the scope of the book or article indexed. In this way the bibliography will provide much valuable data itself, in addition to being a guide to existing information. A few samples may be of interest,

## 48 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

and the first of them is given in 'card form' to show the arrangement.

### BLUE CARD.

1547—1900.

Freshfield, E., jun., Notes on Church Plate in the Diocese of London in 'The Home Counties Magazine,' Vol. II., pp. 113-119, 240-245, 308-316, Vol. III., pp. 47-53, 161-165, 185-190, 260-268, Vol. IV., pp. 75-78, 138-142, 316-319, Vol. V., pp. 59-64, 204-207, 279-285, Vol. VI., pp. 60-65, 210-214. Illustrations.

*Note:* Notes on the changes of Church Plate caused by the Reformation with quotations from Churchwarden's Accounts, Classification and Description of the Plate of London Churches, list of donors, inscriptions on plate, account of Beadle's staves and inventories of plate.

### BLUE CARD.

185—1724.

Simpson, W. Sparrow, Chapters in the History of Old St. Pauls. 1881, London. Illustrated.

*Note:* Gives an introduction on the Early History of Religion in London, and traces the history of St. Pauls down to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

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GREEN CARD.

450—1066.

Loftie, W. J., London as the Capital of Essex.  
in 'Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society.'  
New Series. Vol. I. 1878, Colchester, pp. 220-231.

*Note:* The article gives an account of the sources of information establishing London as the capital of the East Saxon Kingdom. Specific mention is made of Mellitus, Wini, Erkenwald, Waldhere, Ingwald, and the East Saxon Kings.

GREEN CARD.

1800—1900.

The Government of London.  
In 'The Quarterly Review.' Vol. 189. 1899,  
London, pp. 492-518.

*Note:* A criticism of the London Local Government Bill of 1899 and of the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour's speech in introducing it, with remarks on the Report of the Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of the City and County of London, 1894.

YELLOW CARD.

1600—1800.

Hart, W. H., Further Remarks on Some of the Ancient Inns of Southwark.  
In 'Surrey Archæological Collections.' Old Series.  
III. 1865, London, pp. 193-207.

*Note:* Several original documents are printed, *e.g.*, a petition against the opening of a new road out of Southwark to two new Inns, in 1619; also several letters from prisoners in the White Lion, the predecessor of the Marshalsea prison.

III.

E



50 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

YELLOW CARD.

1700—1900.

Rae, W. Fraser, Political Clubs and Party Organization.  
In 'Nineteenth Century.' Vol. III., 1878, London,  
pp. 908-932.

*Note:* Mentions the establishment of political clubs from the time of Queen Anne. The October, March, Hanoverian, the Ministerial formed by Lord Bute, which numbered E. Gibbon among its members, met at the Cocoa Tree Tavern, whilst the opposition met at Wildman's Tavern in Albemarle St. In the 19th century the London, Reform, Carlton, etc., are mentioned and the Westminster founded in 1834 and dissolved in 1836 is fully and authentically described.

PINK CARD.

1800—1900.

Pickard-Cambridge, Rev. O., A Contribution towards the Knowledge of the Arachnida of Epping Forest.  
In 'Transactions of the Essex Field Club,' Vol. IV.  
1886, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, pp. 41-49.

*Note:* Gives a classified list of the spiders found in Epping Forest in 1883 with some valuable hints on the study of Arachnida.

PINK CARD.

1800—1900.

Whitaker, William, Guide to the Geology of London.  
1889. London. P. Illustrated.

*Note:* One of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey. It is condensed and useful for a rapid survey of the geological features of London and the Neighbourhood.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON. 51

### SALMON CARD.

1331—1890.

Welch, Charles, Bibliography of the Livery Companies of London.

In 'The Library,' Old Series, Vol. II., 1890, London, pp. 301-307.

*Note:* A selected list of the literature of the subject under the following headings:—General History of the Subject, The Twelve Great Companies, The Minor Companies.

### SALMON CARD.

1600—1700.

The case of the Charter of London stated.

1683, London. P.

*Note:* Discusses i. What a corporation is:

ii. Whether a corporation can be forfeited:

iii. Whether the City of London ought to forfeit theirs:

### WHITE CARD.

1500—1600.

The True Report of the burnyng of the Steple and the Churche of Poules in London. 12mo. [(Reprint) 1885], 1561, London. P.

*Note:* A pamphlet printed by Wyllyam Seres 'at the sygne of the Hedghogge' in 1561. Mentions the striking by lightning of St. Martin's Church, Ludgate and suggests that the damage to St. Paul's was a direct punishment from God for the waywardness of the people.

52 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

WHITE CARD.

1800—1900.

Bowring, Edgar, South Kensington.

In 'Nineteenth Century' Vol. I pp 563-582, Vol II.  
pp 62-81. 1877. London.

*Note:* Deals with the purchase of the Kensington Gore Estate by the Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition and gives notes on the founding of Albert Hall and of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The original idea of the purchasers was to offer the Estate to the Government as a site for the new National Gallery. Part 2. deals with the 1862 Exhibition and gives a list of institutions existing on the estate at the time of writing (1877).

WHITE CARD.

1078—1603.

Clark, G. T., The Military Architecture of the Tower of London.

In 'Old London,' 1867, London, pp. 13-139.  
Illustrated.

*Note:* Gives an account of the strategic importance of the Tower supported by Baynard's Castle, Montfichet's Castle, and the City Wall, with details of architectural design and a short history.

The group of workers, though not very numerous, is enthusiastic, and hopes to interest others sufficiently to gain more active support. Sir Laurence Gomme, in his Presidential Address to the London Local History Association in 1910, suggested that that body should co-operate with the group in this work. The committee and the hon. secretary of the Association have expressed their approval of

the scheme, which must appeal to all students of London history and topography. Colonel W. F. Prideaux, writing in 'Notes and Queries' in September, 1910, expresses the opinion that the work could be accomplished in five years if a society or group could be formed with one hundred members. If it be possible to accomplish such a useful and valuable work in so comparatively short a time, there ought to be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assistance. As even parts of the Bibliography may prove useful, and as it must be some time before the whole is completed, the group would like to publish sections serially as completed. Miss Hadley, who has kindly assisted me with information on the origin of the scheme, has given me the following list of the work undertaken :

Archæologia . . . . .	Miss Calthrop.
Archæological Journal (Institute)	Mr. C. Hughes.
Archæological Papers (several)	Mr. Allan Gomme.
Athenæum . . . . .	Mr. W. McB. Marcham.
" . . . . .	Miss Phelps.
" . . . . .	Mr. W. J. Row.
British Museum Catalogue .	Miss Drucker.
" " "	Miss Elliot.
" " "	Miss Garbet.
" " "	Miss Raven.
" " "	Mr. Roffey.
" " "	Mr. F. Towler.
Builder . . . . .	Miss Begust.
" . . . . .	Mr. Hummel.
Essex Archæological Society's Trans. . . . .	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Essex Field Club's Publications	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Genealogical Publications .	Miss Hadley.

54 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.

Geological Publications . . .	Miss H. Jones.
Home Counties' Magazine . .	Miss Reddon.
Journal of the British Archæo- logical Assoc. . . .	Mr. C. Hughes.
Kent Archæological Associat. (1st 14 vols.) . . . .	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries . . .	Miss Reddon.
Nineteenth Century . . . .	Mr. T. W. Huck.
Notes and Queries . . . .	Miss M. Chapman.
Sorting and Classifying Cuttings	Miss Latham.

THOMAS WM. HUCK.

## FISHER'S SERMONS AGAINST LUTHER.

**I** AM now able to answer the question concerning Fisher's Sermon, which I asked in *THE LIBRARY* of last July (3rd Series, II. 314). Instead of one Sermon as there mentioned, there are two Sermons, to which, from internal evidence, the dates of their delivery can now be attached.

This paper divides naturally into two parts:

### I. SERMON AGAINST LUTHER, Wynkyn de Worde [1521].

Three copies are known—two in the British Museum and one in the University Library, Cambridge. Another (?) copy in the possession of William Herbert is described in his edition of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities'—where is this copy now?

All three copies vary, and I give their title-page from the various authorities: the first and second from the British Museum's 'Catalogue of Books printed in England, etc. up to 1640' (II. p. 624), the third from Mr. Sayle's 'Early Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge' (I. p. 49). I

add also (4) the entry in Herbert's Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' I. p. 219.

- (1) ¶ The sermon of Johñ the | bysshop of Rochester  
made | again
- (2) ¶ The sermon of Johan the | bysshop of Rochester  
made | agayn
- (3) ¶ The sermon of Johñ the | bysshop of Rochester  
made | agayn
- (4) ¶ The sermon of John the bysshop of Rochester  
made again

- (1) y<sup>e</sup> pñicious doctryn of Mar|tin luther win y<sup>e</sup> oçtaues
- (2) y<sup>e</sup> pñicyous doctryn of Mar|tin luuther win y<sup>e</sup> oçtaues
- (3) y<sup>e</sup> pñicious doctryn of Mar|tin luther win y<sup>e</sup> oçtaues
- (4) y<sup>e</sup> pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther within the  
oçtaues

- (1) of y<sup>e</sup> ascē | syō by y<sup>e</sup> assygnemēt of y<sup>e</sup> moost re |  
verēd fader i god
- (2) of y<sup>e</sup> ascē | syon by y<sup>e</sup> assingnemēt of y<sup>e</sup> moost re |  
uerend fader i god
- (3) of y<sup>e</sup> ascē | syon by y<sup>e</sup> assingnemēt of y<sup>e</sup> most re |  
uerend fader i god
- (4) of y<sup>e</sup> ascēnsyō by y<sup>e</sup> assygnemēt of y<sup>e</sup> moost reuerēd  
fader i god

- (1) y<sup>e</sup> lord Thomas | Cardynal of yorke ⁊ Legate
- (2) y<sup>e</sup> lord Thomas | Cardinall of yorke ⁊ Legate
- (3) y<sup>e</sup> lord Thomas | Cardinal of yorke ⁊ Legate
- (4) y<sup>e</sup> lord Thomas Cardynal of Yorke & Legate

- (1) ex late | re from our holy father y<sup>e</sup> pope
- (2) ex late | re from our holy father the pope.
- (3) ex late | re from our holy father the pope.
- (4) ex latere from our holy father y<sup>e</sup> pope.



- (1) B.L. 'Wynkyn de Worde' [London, 1521].  
4°. G 11903.

Twenty-two leaves, without pagination. The title-page is partly occupied by a woodcut.

- (2) Another edition. B.L. Few MS. Notes.  
'Wynkyn de Worde' [London, 1521?]. 4°. C 25.  
e. 34.

This edition has different initial capitals and other typographical variations from the preceding.

- (3) [Col.] ¶ Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde.  
[152—?]. 4°. Sandars Collection.  
Cf. Herb. 219. B. M. 624.

(4) This title is within the same cut as used to his two funeral sermons, for K. Henry VII. and afterwards for the princess Margaret his mother, placed in that part where their corps were laid. This copy contains 22 leaves; Mr. Ames mentions 56 pages; and as his orthography differs from mine, 'tis very likely there were two editions of the book, at least. At the end, "¶ Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde," only; and his picturesque device, enlarged with ornamental pieces, on the last page, which perhaps may be what Mr. Ames calls a fine cut at the end.

W[illiam] H[erbert]. (Quarto.)

*Collation of the Cambridge copy (No. 3).*

Title, with cut of a bishop in his mitre addressing a standing congregation over a coffin (which is just seen), with border at the top and bottom—see note to sig. D viij<sup>2</sup>. Twenty-two leaves, unpagged, signatures A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>6</sup>, C<sup>4</sup>, D<sup>8</sup>.

A ij commencing: ¶ Qui venerit paracletus quem ego mittam vobis spiritu veritatis qui a patre procedit ille testimonium perhibebit de me.

These wordes be y<sup>e</sup> wordes of our saviour Christ Jesu in y<sup>e</sup> gospell of John. and red in the seruyce of this present sonday. thus moche to say in englysshe. wha the cōforter shall come. whom I shall sende unto you the spyryte of trouthe y<sup>e</sup> yssueth from my father. he shall bere wytnesse of me. etc.

A iij<sup>1</sup>. The fyrst Instruccyon, ending on B iij<sup>1</sup>.

B iij<sup>2</sup>. The Second instruccyon, ending on C iij<sup>1</sup>.

C iij<sup>2</sup>. The third instruccyon, ending on D iij<sup>1</sup>.

D iij<sup>2</sup>. The fourth instruccyon, ending on D viij<sup>1</sup>.

D viij<sup>2</sup>. Wynkyn de Worde's device (No. 12 in Duff's Hand-Lists), surrounded by five blocks as borders, the top and bottom ones being the same as used on the first page of the book. These two blocks, and the two side ones, are on plate 13 in Duff's Hand-Lists.

Another edition of this Sermon was 'In printed at Lōdō by Robert Caly, within the precinct of the late dissolved house of the graye Freers, nowe converted to an hospital, called Christes hospitall. M.D.LVI.'<sup>1</sup>

Professor John E. B. Mayor prints this sermon in his edition of 'The English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,' Part I., 1876 (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. XXVII.), and indicates the variancies of the 1521 and the 1556 edition. He also gives facsimiles of the first page and the last with Wynkyn de Worde's device from the copy (No. 2).

*Date of its preaching.* In his prefatory words Fisher says the text is taken from the Gospel of St. John read in that day's service. The text is

<sup>1</sup> Also 1554 according to Herbert's Ames, 829.

from the Gospel of St. John, xv. 26, which is read on the first Sunday after Ascension Day. The article on Fisher in the D. N. B. says, 'He preached in the vernacular, before Wolsey and Warham, at Paul's Cross, on the occasion of the burning of the reformer's writings in the churchyard (12th May, 1521), a discourse which was severely handled by William Tyndale.' The first Sunday after Ascension Day in 1521 (according to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs') was the 12th May; we, therefore, have here the sermon preached on that day.

## II. SERMON AGAINST LUTHERANISM. [1526.]

I placed, in my previous article, this sermon printed by Berthelet as another edition of that previously mentioned as printed by Wynkyn de Worde. This is wrong. Having compared Berthelet's edition with that printed by Wynkyn de Worde (No. 3), I find that the sermon printed by Berthelet is a sermon preached a few years later, upon another occasion.

### *Collation.*

¶ A sermon had at Paulis by | the cōmandment of  
the most | reuerend father in god my lorde lez | gate  
/ and sayd by John the bys | shop of Rochester /  
upō quīqua= | gesom sonday / concernynge | cer-  
tayne heretickes / whi= | che thā were abiured for  
| holdynge the heresies | of Martyn Luther | that  
famous he= | reticke / and for | ȳ kepyng and | re-  
teynnyng of | his bokes | agaynst | the or= | di= |  
nance of the bulle of | pope Leo the | tenthe. |  
Cū priuilegio a rege indulto. |

Quarto, unpagcd. Sigs. A—H<sup>4</sup>. Title within a border consisting of four different ornamental blocks.

Aij<sup>1</sup>. Fyrst here foloweth an Epistole/unto the reder by the same byshop./ ending on Aiiij<sup>2</sup>.

Bi<sup>1</sup>. "Respice/fides tua te saluum fecit.

These wordes ben writen in y<sup>e</sup> gospell/redde in the church this quinquagesime sondaye. They may thus be englisshed. Open thyn eies/thy faith hath made the safe."

Ending on Cij<sup>1</sup>.

Cij<sup>2</sup>. [Collections] The fyrste collection. Ending on Diiij<sup>2</sup>.

Diiij<sup>1</sup>. The seconde collection.

Ending on Eij<sup>1</sup>.

Eij<sup>1</sup>. The thyrd collection.

Ending on Fij<sup>1</sup>.

Fij<sup>1</sup>. The fourth collection concernynge the encrease of good frute.

Hij<sup>2</sup>. Imprinted at London/in fletestrete/in | the house of Thomas Berthelet// nere to the Cundite/at y<sup>e</sup> | signe of Lucrece. |

Cum priuilegio a rege indulto. |

Two issues, varying in various ways (as pointed out in THE LIBRARY of July, 1911<sup>1</sup>). My copy is wanting Sigs. Gi. and iiij. and H, and is the earliest issue: the Bodleian copy wants Hiiij.—probably blank.

*Date of preaching.* Fisher's prefatory words of the Sermon (Bi<sup>1</sup>.) state the text to be from the gospel read 'this quinquagesime sondaye.' The text is from St. Luke, xviii. 31. Mr. W. W. Greg, in his 'Hand-List of Thos. Berthelet' (p. 14), under the Undated Books, gives 'Fisher. Sermon at Paul's, 11 Feb., 1525. 1529?' According to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacs,' Quinquagesima

<sup>1</sup> Third Series, II. 317.

Sunday in 1525 was the 26th of February. The Sermon could not have been preached in February, 1525,<sup>1</sup> for Fisher (Gijj.) says: 'For he [Luther] hath nowe married hym selfe unto a noūne'; and this event happened on the 11th of June, 1525.

I now give two extracts from the 'D.N.B.':

(1) Cardinal Wolsey (p. 808). 'On 11 Feb. 1526 he went with great pomp to St. Paul's when Robert Barnes bore a faggot for heresy.'

(2) Robert Barnes, D.D., 1495-1540 (p. 1174). 'He was accordingly examined in February by the bishops of London, Rochester, Bath and St. Asaph's. . . . The result of his examination was that he was called on to abjure or burn. . . . He and four German merchants of the steelyard, who had been condemned at the same time for propagating Luther's writings, were sentenced to carry faggots at St. Paul's. On the day appointed the cathedral was crowded. The cardinal, with six and thirty abbots, mitred priors and bishops in full pomp, sat enthroned on a scaffold at the top of the stairs, and Bishop Fisher of Rochester preached a sermon against Lutheranism; after which Barnes and the others knelt down, asked forgiveness of God, the Church, and the Cardinal, and then were conducted to the rood at the north door of the Cathedral, where, a fire being lighted, they cast in their faggots. They were then absolved by Bishop Fisher.'

Now, Quinquagesima Sunday in 1526 fell on the

<sup>1</sup> It would, however, have been called 1525 at the time, since as long as the year was generally reckoned as beginning on 25th March, February, 1525, would follow June, 1525. A. W. P.

11th February. This date coincides with the sermon of Bishop Fisher preached at the abjuration of Robert Barnes, as given in the previous quotations from the D. N. B. So I think we may be certain in saying that this Sermon was preached on the 11th February, 1526, and was probably printed soon afterwards.

Fisher prefaced the Sermon with an Epistle to the Reader, and in the first sentence calls his work a 'queare'—'ȝ shall fortune to rede this queare'—and a little way on we get a view of the congregation in the Cathedral on that day, and also of Bishop Fisher's willingness to reason about Lutheranism, so that either he converted his opposer, or was himself converted to Lutheranism.

(A iiij'). I haue put forth this sermon to be redde / whiche for ȝ great noyse of ȝ people within ȝ church of Paules / whan it was sayde / myght nat be herde. And if paraueture any disciple of Luthers shall thynke / that myn argumentes and reasons agaynst his maister be nat sufficient: Fyrste let hym consider / that I dyd shape them to be spoken untyll a multytude of people / whiche were nat brought up in ȝ subtyll disputations of the schole. Seconde, if it may lyke the same disciple to come unto me secretly / and breake his mynde at more length / I binde me by these presentes / bothe to kepe his secreasy / and also to spare a leysoure for hym to here the bottum of his mynde / and he shal here myne agayne / if it so please him : and I trust in our lorde / that fynally we shall so agre / that either he shal make me a Luthera / or els I shall enduce hym to be a catholyke / and to folowe the doctryne of Christis church.

When comparing my copy of the 1526 Sermon

with the 1521 Sermon in the Cambridge University Library, I found them lettered and bound exactly alike by F. Bedford. Evidently no one had realized the difference between them, or they would not have been similarly lettered. The late Professor John E. B. Mayor could not have known in 1876 of the 1526 Sermon, or he would have mentioned it in the preface to his edition of Fisher's 'English Works,' published in that year. I said in my previous communication to THE LIBRARY that my copy contains the inscription: 'E libris Joh. S. Wood A.D. 1879,' and came into Professor Mayor's possession, being sold along with his library in May, 1911. This copy and the 1521 Sermon in the Cambridge University Library came from the same source, and I strongly suspect formed the boards of some book of contemporary date, of which, unfortunately, all trace is now lost.

It is a source of satisfaction that when this description appears in print, my 1526 Sermon will have been acquired by the Cambridge University Library, and the two Sermons once more will rest together under one roof.

G. J. GRAY.



## THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE explanations that have been given while discussing the Helmasperger Instrument as to the types and books attributed to Gutenberg, show how easy it is to demonstrate that, laden as he was with the debts contracted by him at Strassburg in 1442 and at Mainz in 1448, 1450, and 1452, he could not, from 1450 to 1455, or earlier or later, have been in a position to manufacture the eight or twelve types or printed the twenty-three books enumerated in List A. If he had done anything of the kind, or even approaching it, it would have come out at his trial in 1455.

But it is not so easy to allocate these types and books to any definite printer or printers. This is partly owing to the bad condition of the published photographs, some of which are reduced in size, partly to the more or less confused explanations given of them by German bibliographers. With respect to some of them, however, we stand on firm ground. Type v., that of the 'Missale Speciale,' cannot be Gutenberg's, as its style and design show that it could not have been manufactured before 1480; nor can the two Missals printed with it be dated before

<sup>1</sup> Continued from Vol. II., page 421.

that year. Most German bibliographers admit this. Types vi. and vii. cannot be ascribed to Gutenberg, because the colophon of the Psalter for which they were employed states that Fust and Schoeffer printed it in 1457. And it is difficult to see how, in the face of this colophon and with the certainty that, in the infancy of printing, every printer cast his own type, these types could be assigned to any other printer.

The questions connected with the Catholicon type (viii.) have been so fully discussed under Document XXVII. (26th February, 1468) that it will suffice to repeat here that the difficulties connected with this type are solved if we simply follow the ordinary rules of evidence and bibliography, and ascribe the Catholicon and the other books, etc., printed in the same type, to Fust and Schoeffer.

There remain for our consideration the books printed in types which the German bibliographers of the present day call 'the Gutenberg type.' According to my researches this name is misleading; we cannot speak of merely *one* type, as we have to deal with four or five types, which much resemble each other, but yet differ in form. The German authors, who have paid so much attention to these types, do not take sufficient notice of the differences, and, misled by the great likeness between them, regard them all as phases or developments of one type, and call them *the* Gutenberg type. They think that there are three such phases of this one type: (1) the *Donatus* type, used, they say, for the 'Weltgericht,' the 1451 'Donatus,' and two other 'Donatuses'; (2) the Kalendar type,

employed, it is contended, for the Astronomical Kalendar of 1448 (No. v.) and fifteen other works; (3) the type of B<sup>36</sup>.

As regards this Bible, various circumstances point to Albrecht Pfister of Bamberg as its printer. In former years, when the Church type employed in the 1454 Indulgence<sup>31</sup> was believed to be identical with that of B<sup>36</sup>, it was the general opinion that Pfister, though he could not have printed the Indulgence, had acquired its Church type from Gutenberg and printed B<sup>36</sup> with it. Now that a closer examination shows that the B<sup>36</sup> type was not used so early as 1454, or at least not employed in 1454 for the Indulgence, Pfister's known dates (1461, 1462) harmonize with the approximate date (1460-61) of B<sup>36</sup>. He issued, on 14th February, 1461, at Bamberg, with the B<sup>36</sup> type, an edition of Boner's 'Edelstein' (88 leaves, fol., with wood-engravings), and at least eight other works (Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 161 sq.), one of which bears the date 1462, the seven others none. A transfer or sale of this type from Gutenberg to Pfister is improbable, for reasons stated above; it is also contrary to that universal practice in the infancy of printing of printers starting with a type of their own making. Moreover, the fact that most of the copies of B<sup>36</sup> now known to us were at one time or other preserved in the libraries of Bavaria, and several fragments of it were discovered in monasteries in that country, even in a register of the abbey of St. Michael at Bamberg, dated 1460, strongly points to B<sup>36</sup> having been printed in the latter town.

So that from a bibliographical and typographical point of view we must attribute B<sup>36</sup> to him, and I am not aware of any reason against our doing so, whereas there are strong reasons for not ascribing it to Gutenberg, as he, if the Documents that speak of him can be relied on, was, from 1442 till his death in 1468, too poor and too much in debt to print a work of such magnitude as B<sup>36</sup>, if he printed anything at all.

But though we may with some certainty regard Pfister as the printer of B<sup>36</sup>, there are doubts as to his being the printer of the Nos. viii. (Turk-Kalendar, 1455), ix. (Calixtus Bull, 1456), xi. (Laxier-Kalendar, 1457), xii. (Cisianus, c. 1457), which German authors regard as being printed in the same type as B<sup>36</sup>.

If the dates printed in the first three books (1455-7) could be taken as the years of their having been printed, it would be doubtful at least whether these books could have been printed by Pfister, as there is no evidence of his having printed so early. It is, moreover, said that the form of some of their capitals differ from those of B<sup>36</sup>, which makes it difficult to class them with this Bible. On the other hand, the period in which they are supposed to have been printed is a critical one in Gutenberg's career, as in 1455 he was prosecuted for the repayment of a large sum of money, apparently on the ground of his not having done the stipulated work for it, and he was, in consequence, hopelessly bankrupt in 1457.

Some German bibliographers, who regard the years printed in these books as the years of their

production, feel yet inclined to ascribe the books to Pfister, but—to Pfister as working in Gutenberg's printing-office at Mainz, a contingency which is impossible in the face of the Helmasperger Instrument. But can the years found in them be taken as sure evidence for the books having been printed in those years? We have, in a type *resembling* that of B<sup>36</sup>, the Astronomical Kalendar (v.) which apparently calculates the ephemerides for 1448, so that it is assumed to have been printed at the end of 1447. This calculation, however, is no conclusive evidence of its having been printed in 1447, as Kalendars of this kind appear to have been issued without being prepared for any particular year or circumstances. A few years ago the Cisianus (xii.) was thought to have been printed in 1443-4 (and, therefore, to be ascribed to Gutenberg), because some of the saints and movable feasts mentioned in it seemed to relate exclusively to that year. But as the same saints and feasts occur in the same way in Cisianus editions printed long after 1500, Gutenberg had to be abandoned.<sup>1</sup> The Astronomical Kalendar lays down rules for blood-letting at certain seasons of the year, and was evidently intended to be hung up in houses as guides for this operation. But it has not yet been proved that these rules required, at that period, a special Kalendar for each year in particular. It is, moreover, admitted that some of its calculations

<sup>1</sup> See on this question, K. Haebler, 'Le soi-disant Cisianus de 1443,' who points out the uncertainty of the dates of those early Kalendars, and dates the Cisianus c. 1457.

are wrong if we apply them to the year 1448, and that the same calculations would equally well apply to the year 1468.

Whichever year we may ascribe it to, 1447 or 1467, or any other year, its type cannot be taken as a connecting link between that of the 'Weltgericht' (No. i.) and Paris 'Donatus' (No. iii.), and that of B<sup>36</sup>, nor as a link between any of the other books, as the differences between them are too great for such a purpose. The poem on the 'Weltgericht,' which, according to the German theory, must be regarded, so far as we know, as Gutenberg's first work, is printed on *paper*, and, therefore, looks strange at the head of a list which includes, and, but for this poem, begins with, *vellum* printed works. It looks a specimen of early German printing, but not more 'primitive' than the paper printed Turk-kalendar, Cisianus, and Laxier-kalendar. It certainly could not be placed in 1443-4, that is, thirteen or fourteen years earlier than these books, and will take a more natural place by their side, in spite of its different type, and in this position help to show that in Germany printing on paper was then beginning to supersede that on vellum. The assertion that its type is the same as that of the 1451 'Donatus' cannot be sustained. And as regards the date 1443-4 assigned to it, if the Helmasperger Instrument can be trusted, it plainly shows that in 1450 Gutenberg borrowed money on the security of tools which he still had to make, and was, therefore, at that time destitute of any kind of printing apparatus, or other property, such

as he must have had if he had been printing poems since 1443, Donatuses since 1444 or 1445, Astronomical Kalendars since 1447, etc., etc., not to speak of the many 'experiments' which we are told must have preceded these works.

Therefore, with the certainty that the types of the 'Weltgericht' are not identical with those of the 1451 'Donatus,' and that it must be removed to a later place (say 1455-6) in the list, and the probability that the Astronomical Kalendar was printed later than 1447, we get, as a starting point, a Donatus (No. ii.) which Schwenke thinks must be placed after the 'Weltgericht' (suppose we retain this as No. i.), but before the Paris 'Donatus' with the written (though possibly fictitious) year 1451. Why it should be placed thus I do not know. If its type is that of the 1451 'Donatus,' it must differ from that of the 'Weltgericht,' and *vice versa*.

Though the date 1451 is written on this document discovered by Bodmann, and is, therefore, suspicious, I hardly feel disposed to throw doubts on its authenticity, especially as it points to the time (1451) when Gutenberg, according to the Helmasperger Instrument of 1455, may be supposed to have been in a position to exercise the new art of printing in a small way. How far any of the other books could be ascribed to him I do not know. Their types require to be examined more thoroughly than has hitherto been done before an independent opinion could be formed on this point. There can be no harm in letting them be known, for the sake of argument, as



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'Gutenbergiana,' provided we do not call him the inventor of printing, which is against all existing evidence.

We have now to consider the remaining Documents.

XXI. 21 June, 1457. Johann Gutenberg is named as witness in a Notarial Instrument, whereby property (situated in the village of Bodenheim, near Mainz, which a certain Peter Schlüssel had presented some years before to one Dielnhenne residing in the same village) was sold to Johann Gensfleisch, junior, husband of the daughter of Gutenberg's brother. The purchaser bound himself to pay annually in perpetuity 30 malters of wheat to the St. Victor Stift at Mainz, of which Gutenberg was a lay-brother (perhaps from that year onwards, if not earlier) till his death in 1468 (see below, Doc. No. XXVI.). The contract was executed in the house of Leonhard Mengoiss, Canon of the Stift.

The vellum original, drawn up by the Notary Ulrich Helmasperger (see the preceding Document of 6th November, 1455), had formerly belonged (Schaab, 'Buchdrucker.' ii., 270) to the Victor Chapter, but had come from the Bodmann collection and is now in the Mainz Town Library. It proves (says Schorbach, 'Festschr.,' p. 281) that Gutenberg was then at Mainz, and that, therefore, there is no ground for the statement of Joh. Fr. Faust von Aschaffenburg (in his discourse on the origin of printing) that Gutenberg, after his lawsuit with Fust, had gone in a passion to Strassburg, and had probably possessed there a workshop of

his own. See further, Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 15, p. 103.

XXII. 1457/8-1460/1. Entries in the Account-books of the St. Thomas Stift at Strassburg for the years 1457 to 1461, regarding the annual four pounds for interest due from Gutenberg (or, failing him, from Martin Brechter, his surety) on the loan of 80 pounds which they had obtained from the said Stift on 17th November, 1442; see above, Nos. XIII. and XVII. Under the latter number it has been pointed out that this annual interest had been regularly paid by or on behalf of Gutenberg till the 11th November, 1457. But already the latter payment seems to have caused some difficulty to the Stift, as among their expenses recorded from 24th June (Johannis), 1457, till 24th June, 1458, occurs an item of 2s. for arresting the two debtors. As, however, the four pounds due on the 11th November, 1457, do not appear anywhere among the outstanding arrears owing to the Chapter, it may be assumed that the Chapter had received them later on, perhaps in consequence of the measures taken by them. It is, however, beyond doubt that on the 11th November, 1458, when the next payment became due, both Gutenberg and his surety remained in default, and from that day onwards the Annual Accounts of the St. Thomas Stift regularly record the 4 pounds as outstanding (see Tabb. 18 and 19 in the Atlas to the 'Festschr.'). Nor had the two letters of summons which the Stift despatched to Gutenberg, between 24th June, 1459, and 24th June, 1460, at the expense of 5 shillings, to an address which

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is not named, any result. See further, Doc. No. XXIII.

XXIIA. 1458. A forged imprint (on fol. 57) in the copy of Pope Gregory's Dialogues, printed at Strassburg about 1470 by Henr. Eggestein (Hain \*10290), which is preserved at Wilton House, in the Library of the Earl of Pembroke.

This somewhat cleverly but yet clumsily fabricated imprint runs: 'Presens hoc op' factum est per Johan./Guttenbergium apud Argentinam / anno millessimo cccclviii. /,' and was, therefore, intended to convey the impression that the book was printed by 'Johan Gutenberg, at Strassburg, in 1458.' The type, however, of the forged imprint differs from the genuine one of the book, and the forger, whoever he was, did not take—or was unable to take—account of the old and blunted condition, and the exact size of the genuine type, and consequently manufactured a new and slightly larger one than that of Eggestein. See for further details Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 103 *sqq.*

XXIIB. 24 July, 1459. A document dated ('an sand margreden dag der heiligen Junckfrawen,' *i.e.*) 20th July, 1459, made like letters patent, with four seals, etc., appended to it. It represents brothers, called Henne Genssfleisch von Sulgeloeh genannt Gudinberg, and Friele Genssfleisch, as relinquishing on that day, at the advice and with the consent of their relatives Henne, Friele, and Pedirmanne, all claims to whatever their sister Hebele had brought with her into the Convent Reichenclaren, and Henne Genssfleisch in particular promises that the books which he has given to the

library of that convent shall for ever belong to it, and that he will give to the same library all the books which he, Henne, has caused to be printed, and might print in future.

This document is now admitted to be one of Prof. Bodmann's forgeries. His friend Fischer ('Beschreib. typogr. Seltenh.,' 1800, i., p. 42) was the first to publish it in the German language, from a transcript made for him by Bodmann, who pretended to have discovered the original in the Mainz University Archives. In 1801 Oberlin published a French translation of it ('Essai d'annal. de la vie de Gutenberg,' p. 4), merely remarking that Bodmann had discovered it. Fischer reprinted the German text in 1802 in his 'Essai sur les mon. typ.,' 46, with the addition of Oberlin's translation. Since then it has frequently been reprinted by later authors on Gutenberg. Schorbach, admitting that it is a fictitious document, only notices it in a note on his page 165. See further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. 17, p. 107.

XXIIc. 1460. The falsified date in a Prognostication or Kalendar, printed in 1482, preserved in the Darmstadt Hofbibliothek, and described on p. 88 of Walther's 'Beiträge zur näheren Kenntniss der Hofbibl. (8vo, Darmstadt, 1867) as the 'Calender von 1460.' It was first described by Gotthelf Fischer, in 1804 ('Typogr. Seltenh.,' vi., 69), who said that it had the date (14)60. When Bernard was at Darmstadt in 1853 the book could not be found ('Orig.,' i., 206). But Hessels (see his 'Gutenberg,' p. 111) saw it in October, 1881, and found that the printed date

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(Mcccc)lxxxii had been altered to lx by scratching out the two x's and two i's. The author of this falsification is not known, but Fischer declared that Herr Podozzi, a dealer in works of art, had discovered the leaves in the binding of a book and forwarded them to him for inspection. Fischer, however, seems to have committed a forgery with regard to another work printed in this same type, entitled 'Tractatus de celebratione missarum secundum frequentiore cursum diocesis maguntinensis.' A copy of this 'Tractatus' is said to have been transferred, in 1781, from the Carthusian Monastery near Mainz to the University Library of that town. And Fischer, who gives its title twice ('Essai sur les monumens typogr. de Jean Gutenberg,' Mayence, 1802, p. 81, and 'Typogr. Seltenh.,' 1803, iv., 18) asserts that in that library he discovered it bound in one volume with a number of MS. tracts, and that the rubricator had written on it with red ink (in Latin) that 'the Carthusian Monastery near Mainz possessed this book (through the liberal gift of Joh. Gutenberg) completed by his wonderful art and that of Joh. Nummeister clerk. Anno domini 1463, 13 Kal. Jul. (=19th June).' After Fischer, no one has ever seen this copy, though great efforts have been made to find it. Its date is, of course, an impossibility. On the strength of the above two forgeries a set of eight books, all printed in the same type, were for nearly a century ascribed to Gutenberg (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 107 *sqq.*).

XXIII. 10 April 1461. Letter from the Strassburg St. Thomas Chapter to the Imperial Tribunal

at Rottweil, authorising Michel Rosemberg, the Procurator of that Court, to take proceedings against Johann Guttenberg for the recovery of the money he owed them. The Chapter claimed the interest due to them from Gutenberg, together with the expenses which they had incurred in taking measures to obtain this interest (see Document No. XXII.), and also the pledge assigned to them in the contract (see above, Nos. XIII., XVII., XXII.), that is the annuity of 10 gold guilders which Gutenberg had inherited from his uncle Leheymer. The original letter has not come down to us, but the copy of it kept by the Chapter was discovered by Prof. Charles Schmidt in 1841 in the Thomas Archives (Tiroir XV., Diverses No. X., now deposited in the Town Archives at Strassburg). Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 284 *sqq.*) published the contents of this letter, and explains that the Rottweil Tribunal despatched a messenger to Mainz to summon Gutenberg before them, but the latter as a subject of the Mainz Archbishop and as a Mainz citizen was not amenable to any foreign, not even the Imperial Tribunal. Gutenberg's case, therefore, was to be dealt with at Mainz, and the St. Thomas Accountbook of 1461/2 shows that the Rottweil Court had taken certain steps to begin the proceedings. See the next Document.

XXIV. 1461-74. Various entries in the Accountbooks of the Strassburg St. Thomas Stift for these years, showing that neither Gutenberg nor his surety, Martin Brechter, ever paid, during these years, the annual interest of 4 pounds due from them to the Chapter (see above, the numbers



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XIII., XVII., XXII., XXIII.). The entries (all printed by Schorbach, p. 287 *sqq.*) also show that the latter did all in their power to have the defaulters arrested, and incurred various expenses for this purpose. They seem to have succeeded in apprehending Martin Brechter at Hagenau some time before 1466 at the expense of 7s., and incurred further expenses for his arrest in 1473/4; it also appears that the Rottweil Court sent a messenger to Mainz to summon Gutenberg in 1461/2, but all in vain. At last the Chapter abandoned the case as lost, and after 24th June, 1474, more than six years after the death of Gutenberg, neither his name nor that of his co-debtor appear any longer in the Registers.

XXIVA. 19 June, 1463. A forged date in a copy of 'Tractatus de celebratione missarum secundum frequentiorem cursum diocesis maguntinensis'; see above, 1460 (Document No. XXIIc.).

XXV. 17 Jan. 1465. On this day the Archbishop Adolf of Mainz, by a decree (dated: Eltvil am donnerstag sant Anthonij tag Anno 1465) appoints Johann Gutenberg as his servant and courtier for life, on account of the 'grateful and willing service which he had rendered to himself and to his Stift, and will and may render in future.'

The original Decree is lost, but a contemporary copy of it (the text of which is printed by Schorbach, 'Festschr.', p. 290) is preserved on leaf 172<sup>a</sup> of a Mainz Memoranda book, which seems to have been compiled in the Archbishop's Chancery; it contains Acts from 1463 to 1468, and is now preserved in the Würzburg Archives ('Ingrossatur



Adolphi II. Lib. I.' : Mainz-Aschaffenburg In-grossaturbuch No. 30). Schorbach tells us (p. 294) that it has hitherto been overlooked that Gutenberg rendered the prescribed oath of fidelity to the Elector, and also the customary 'Reverse' or Letter of obligation referred to in the line 'Dedit literam reversalem etc.,' found at the end of the Decree.

Some authors presume that the Archbishop bestowed this favour on Gutenberg on account of the attitude taken up by him during the episcopal dispute of that time, in having, perhaps, as an adherent of the aristocratic party, favoured Adolf's cause. Others think that he had rendered services to the Church by some typographical work. But there is not one word in the Decree to show either the nature or the extent of the service for which the Archbishop rewarded Gutenberg.

XXVI. 1467/68. Two undated entries of the name Hengin Gutenberg in the 'Liber fraternitatis' of the St. Victor Stift near Mainz, of which Brotherhood Gutenberg was, at the time of his death, a lay-member, and had perhaps been since 1457 (see above, Doc. No. XXI.), possibly even since his return to Mainz in 1448. The first entry (which Bodmann erroneously regarded as Gutenberg's autograph) appears (on leaf 7<sup>b</sup>) among the names of the living lay-members; the second (on leaf 12<sup>b</sup>) among those of the deceased members of the fraternity. The latter entry, cut out by Bodmann, was found among the papers left by him, and re-inserted in its proper place, and so appears in the facsimile of that particular part of the Register published in the Atlas (Pl. 23) to the

'Festschrift'; the piece itself seems to be in the Mainz Town Library (Schorbach, 'Festschr.', p. 297). This 'Liber fraternitatis' (a small folio of twenty vellum leaves) which was, as Schorbach says, still at Mainz in the beginning of the nineteenth century, is now preserved in the Darmstadt Hof- und Staat-Archiv (Kopialbücher Mainz S. Viktor, No. 3).

XXVIA. 2 February [1468]. An entry in an Anniversarium of the Dominican Church at Mainz, which reads: 'Obiit dominus Johannes zum Ginsefleis cum duabis candelis super lapidem prope cadedram predicantis habens arma Ginsefleis.' This entry had never been connected with Gutenberg until Bockenheimer published his 'Gutenberg's Grabstätte' (Mainz, 1876). It has been shown, however, by Dr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, the Archivist of Darmstadt, that the entry is really anterior to 1423, and does not relate to Gutenberg, but to a 'Johannes zum Gensfleisch,' who was probably Gutenberg's grand-uncle; see further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 116 *sqq.*

XXVII. 26 February, 1468. A letter of obligation (Reverse) of Dr. Kunrad Humery, concerning a printing apparatus ('etliche formen buchstaben Instrument gezauwe und anders zu dem truckwerck gehorende), which he seems, at one time or other, to have procured for, and lent to, Gutenberg. At the latter's death this apparatus appears to have been, according to the above bond, in the hands of the Archbishop of Mainz, who handed or delivered it, on the above day, to Humery, the latter binding himself that in case he should

require, then or afterwards, for the purposes of printing ('zu trucken') such formes and apparatus ('soliche formen und gezeuge'), he would use them within Mainz and nowhere else, and if he were to sell them, and a citizen of Mainz offered him as much as a stranger, he would favour the citizen before all strangers.

The original of this Reverse, which was probably written on vellum, has not come down to us. But a copy, taken perhaps not long afterwards, is found on leaf 85<sup>a</sup> of the 'Ingrossaturbuch Adolphi II. Lib. II.' (Mainz-Aschaffenburg Ingrossaturbuch, No. 31) a folio paper Codex of 157 leaves (preserved in the Royal Kreis-Archives at Würzburg, which contains copies, unchronologically arranged, of documents of the years 1463 to 1474. Its text was published (probably from the Codex) for the first time in 1727, by Joannis ('Scriptt. rer. Mogunt., iii., 424), and afterwards from his text by various authors. In 1882 it was published, from the 'Ingrossaturbuch,' by Hessels ('Gutenberg,' p. 121), and in 1900 by Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 302).

The document gives the approximate date of Gutenberg's death, which must have taken place before the date of this document, may be at the end of 1467. It is not known whether he died at Mainz or at Eltvil, the residence of the Archbishop, his patron and benefactor. Nor is there any certainty as to his burial place. At the end of a small tract, published in 1499 by Merstetter in honour of the Heidelberg Professor Marsilius ab Inghen (see Hain, 10781), is printed an

Epigram of Wimpfeling on Gutenberg (Foelix Ansicare, etc.), preceded by a few lines said to have been engraved on a memorial-slab supposed to have been erected by Adam Gelthuss, one of Gutenberg's relatives. At the end of these lines appear the words: 'Ossa eius in ecclesia diui Francisci Moguntina foeliciter cubant,' which could not have been on a memorial-slab in the Franciscan Church, if Gutenberg had been buried there. It is presumed, however, that they are a later addition to the said tract, and that Gutenberg was really buried there. Moreover, Dr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, the Archivist of Darmstadt, has proved ('Archiv für hess. Gesch. xv. 337 *sqq.*) that the entry in an 'Anniversarium' of the Dominican Church at Mainz, thought by Bockenheim ('Gutenberg's Grabstätte,' Mainz, 1876) to relate to Gutenberg, had no connection with him (see further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 22, p. 116 *sqq.*). Schorbach (p. 301) suggests that Gutenberg himself may have chosen the Franciscan Church as his last resting-place, because his grandmother was buried there, while the church was situated opposite his first printing-office, the Hof zum Humbrecht, and in the monastery next to the church was the Refectorium where, on the 6th November, 1455, Fust took the oath which had such disastrous results for Gutenberg. The church, handed over to the Jesuits in 1577, was demolished in 1742.

The many speculations and stories as to Gutenberg's printing activity, after his lawsuit with Fust in 1455, and a printing-school ascribed to him,

which, on the strength of this Reverse, had for many years been circulating, were in 1882 proved to be unfounded or untenable (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' Doc. No. 23, p. 119 *sqq.*). But in the 'Festschrift,' 1900, p. 304 *sqq.*, Schorbach again discusses the question as to whether Humery had possessed a completely equipped printing-office (Druckerei), or merely some letters or types and printing-tools. He thinks that from the word 'ettliche,' which may mean 'an indefinite number or many,' we can draw no certain conclusions. He finds it difficult to

adequately explain the technical expressions of the Reverse. By the side of the 'formen,' he says, are the (letters) 'buchstaben'; by the side of the 'instrument' the 'gezauwe' (= gezeuge), and assuming a complete office, we may take 'formen' to mean 'matrices,' being separated from the 'buchstaben' (types), just as the 'matrices' are called 'formae' and distinguished from the 'patronae' or patrices in the colophon to the Catholicon of 1460; though in this Reverse, a few lines further down, 'soliche formen' are used for printing; hence they were, perhaps, the same as the 'literae formatae' or 'formae,' mentioned in the Avignon documents as metal types!

Schorbach, unable to explain the word 'instrument,' says that

it indicates something different from 'gezuge,' and may be taken in its widest sense. If it were a complete printing inventory, it may indicate preparations for casting type, as 'instrument,' in the phraseology of early printing, was the *terminus technicus* for a casting-mould, and in type-foundries is still known as *Giessinstrument*.

The general term *gezuge* or *gezauwe* (two linguistic formations having the same meaning from the same root) occurs also in the Strassburg Lawsuit of 1439 and the Notarial Document of 1455, where it means implements, tools (Germ. *Werkzeuge, Gerätschaften*). It may include the utensils of the compositor (*i.e.* composing-sticks, galleys, letter-cases, formes or chases), the implements and tools for putting or laying on colours (*e.g.* an ink-block, ink-ball, etc.), and even a press and its belongings, as, according to the document, the 'gezuge' could also be used for printing (*zu trucken*). The remaining 'zu dem truckwerk gehorende' may, if we assume a complete office, be explained as a 'store of metal for types, parchment, paper, printing-ink.'

All these types and printing-implements, says Schorbach (p. 305), were, at Gutenberg's death, in the precincts of the Court (*Hofbezirk*) of the Archbishop, and probably in the town of Mainz.

The vague and indefinite wording of the Reverse allows such a comprehensive and liberal construction as that of Schorbach to be put upon it. Zedler, as usual, goes a step further, and speaks ('Gutenberg-Forsch.', pp. 114, 115) of Gutenberg as 'the leader of the Humery printing-office.' At first sight it seems natural to assume that, if Humery thought it desirable to go to the expense of assisting Gutenberg with the various things mentioned by name in the Reverse as his property, he may have considered it expedient to furnish Gutenberg with a more or less *complete* printing-apparatus, as with a few isolated implements (say, a press without types, or types without a press or formes, or patrices without matrices or lead), the latter, with all his genius, could not have expected to print



anything. But let us examine the circumstances surrounding this printing-office.

Humery was, according to Schorbach (*l.c.* p. 306),

a Mainz Jurist and Syndic as early as 1435. In course of time he became one of the chief leaders of the Mainz populace, and, during the Mainz embroilment of 1461 and 1462, served the Archbishop Diether von Isenburg. From the municipal accounts of 1436 and later years it appears that he lived in good circumstances, and had, as municipal Chancellor, an annual income of 208 gold guilders. He seems to have been a passionate politician and a 'jolly fellow,' who was, in 1443, one of the founders of a gastronomic brotherhood or fraternity, which was jocularly called 'the self-ruling order' ('der selpwealdie orden'). Among the members of this union Humery was known by a nickname (*zimernkrose*). By way of contrast he was also a member of the clerical fraternity of Stephan at Mainz, the necrology of which indicates that he died about the year 1472.

We cannot wonder that Gutenberg became acquainted with a man of this merry and lively disposition. He had himself taken part, if we believe all that is said of him, in his lifetime in some embroilments, and was apparently not averse from good cheer, as is shown by the large quantity of wine which he had stored up in his cellar from 1436 to 1439 (see above Document No. IX.). He was likewise a lay-member of a clerical fraternity, that of St. Victor near Mainz. But however much sympathy there may have been between the two men, Humery seems to have been a little cautious, and to have thought it prudent to assist



Gutenberg with 'instruments,' the right to which he could reserve to himself, rather than with ready cash.

We know that Fust had acted in somewhat the same cautious way towards Gutenberg, but, for want of any better security, had taken a lien on Gutenberg's tools before they had actually been made.

It should be observed that the things mentioned in the Humery Bond, whatever they were, had, and still, belonged to Humery. But they had, till the date of the Document, evidently never been in Humery's house. Gutenberg seems to have had the loan or the use of them. For how long or where he had stored or used them, or what use he had made of them during the time that they were in his keeping, is not stated anywhere. And when Humery, on 26th February, 1468, says that the Archbishop had delivered or sent them (Germ. *folgen layszen*, let follow; the two words occur twice) to him, he does not name the place from whence they came nor the place where they had gone to. Nor is it stated anywhere whether the 'buchstaben' were 'types,' or, taking this for granted, whether they had been used for printing anything.

A printing-office established under the circumstances described in the above vague way, and held only on loan by a printer in such an impoverished position as Gutenberg was, could not have been very large or have produced great results.

Some bibliographers assert that, as a result of the lawsuit between Fust and Gutenberg, the latter was deprived of the tools and other things which

he had made, or is thought to have made, with Fust's money, but that afterwards Dr. Homery (or Humery) lent him money to enable him to set up another printing-office. Though we know of no incunabula that could with any approach to certainty be ascribed to this Humery-Gutenberg printing-office, it is assumed (Schorbach, p. 307, has little doubt about it) that Gutenberg printed at Mainz, with the types lent him by Humery, the 'Catholicon' of 1460,<sup>1</sup> besides a small tract of Matth. de Cracovia ('Tract. rationis'), another of Thomas Aquinas ('Summa de Articulis fidei') an Indulgence and a Bull of 1461. But as Peter Schoeffer, about 1470, advertises the 'Catholicon' and the three small tracts for sale,<sup>2</sup> and appears, therefore, as their proprietor, they argue further that Schoeffer may have acquired the stock of these books that remained after Gutenberg's death, or after the latter had ceased to print. It is further assumed that, about 1465, when the Archbishop of Mainz appointed Gutenberg as his servant and courtier (see above, Doc. XXV.), the latter quitted Mainz to reside at the Archbishop's Court at Eltvil, and there, finding that his position pre-

<sup>1</sup> Falk ('Centralbl. f. Bibliothekw.,' v., 306) says that the Vatican Library possesses one of Humery's writing-books, containing the lectures which he heard at Bologna in 1430 of the Jurist Lapi, and that at the end of this book is bound a leaf of the 'Catholicon.'

<sup>2</sup> A facsimile of this broadside advertisement is published by Wilh. Meyer (who discovered it in the Munich Hofbibliothek) in the 'Centralbl. f. Bibl.,' 1885, p. 437; by Konr. Burger, 'Bücheranz. des 15. Jahrh.,' 1907, Pl. 3 and 5; and Velke, in 'Gutenberg-Gesellsch.,' v.-vii., 1908, p. 221 sqq., Tab. iv.

vented him from printing himself, passed the Catholicon type on to Henry Bechtermuncze. It is thought that this type, with some additions already found in the 1461 Indulgence, was, in 1467, in the hands of the brothers Bechtermuncze, and that they printed with it, on the 4th November of that year, a 'Vocabularius ex quo,' of 166 quarto leaves, and a second edition of it on 5th June, 1469. But it is difficult to see how the type mentioned by Homery in 1468 as *his* type could have been the Catholicon type, as in such a case it must have been in 1460 and 1461 in Gutenberg's hands at Mainz; in 1465 he must have passed it on to Bechtermuncze at Eltvil, who printed with it in 1467; a few weeks afterwards, *i.e.*, in February, 1468, it must have been in the hands of the Archbishop at Mainz, who returned it to Homery, and by June, 1469, it must again have been for some time in the hands of the Bechtermunczes at Eltvil. All these supposed migrations and borrowings of a type are possible but improbable, as in the period of which we speak every printer cast his own type, and it would have been singular if the Bechtermunczes had done otherwise.

The difficulties of these migrations have already been pointed out by me, by Bernard and others (see my 'Gutenberg,' p. 143 *sqq.*). Their only solution lies in following the ordinary rules and evidence of bibliography and taking Fust and Schoeffer as the printers and publishers of the Catholicon, etc. Schoeffer advertises them, apparently as belonging to him. There seems to be

no reason for discarding this bibliographical evidence and going out of our way in order to ascribe to Gutenberg, during the years of his insolvency, the printing of books which might have sufficiently taxed the resources of an ordinary well-to-do printer. The colophon of the *Catholicon* is that of a printer or printers like Fust and Schoeffer, who think highly of their new craft and endeavour to recommend it. It actually recurs almost verbatim, in three books published by them in 1465 and 1467. On the other hand, it is not a colophon of a brokendown printer who, during the last twenty-six years of his life, seems to have lived on borrowed money; who had just been prosecuted by one creditor for the repayment of a large sum of money, and was pursued by another creditor whom he could only keep at bay by remaining within the walls of Mainz.

Schwenke ('Gutenberg-Feier,' p. 71) thinks that the *Catholicon* could not have been printed by Gutenberg, as it is the work of a beginner, judging by the endings of the lines, the total absence of hyphens, and the irregularity of the interpunction at the end of the lines, which sometimes appears inside, sometimes outside, the columns.

The same considerations would, of course, prevent us from ascribing the book to Schoeffer. But all these peculiarities may be due to the printer having faithfully followed his manuscript model not only in cutting his type, but in composing a work of 746 pages, with two columns each of 66 lines to a page, in which the spacing out of the lines to make them even would cause endless difficulties

and loss of time. On the other hand, it is argued that, as there is no positive ground for ascribing the Catholicon to Gutenberg, and its often-quoted colophon speaks more against than for him, it follows that, if the Catholicon types are not those which Gutenberg left at his death, we must assume that he had succeeded in 1455 in arranging matters with Fust without surrendering the printing apparatus which he then possessed. This assumption, however, seems still more improbable than the others-mentioned above to explain Humery's letter of obligation. Taking all the circumstances detailed above together, it would seem that Humery's good nature and the kindred feeling which evidently existed between Gutenberg and himself, induced him, we know not at what time, to procure some small printing apparatus for the use of Gutenberg. That the latter employed it in some way or another, perhaps in the service of the Archbishop, is not improbable. But the latter appears to have made no efforts to borrow or purchase the apparatus himself, or to retain it on any other condition. And though he put some restrictions on the use or sale by Humery, he showed no anxiety to become its proprietor himself.

J. H. HESSELS.

*(To be concluded.)*

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**B**Y those who care for the artistic treatment of psychological problems, a new volume by Paul Bourget, even when it deals with an unpleasant theme, is always welcomed. 'L'envers du décor' shows Bourget's special talent at high, if not at its highest, level. The best of the episodes—for none of the tales are more—is 'Les Moreau-Janville.' It contains a whole gallery of Parisian portraits from Eugène Montrieux, the young tutor whose simple, good-hearted, yet ambitious parents made great sacrifices in order that their son should be 'un jeune homme pauvre avec une sensibilité qui avait besoin de fortune,' to Madame Moreau-Janville, a frivolous 'mondaine,' selfish, sensual, deceiving alike husband, son, and step-daughter, and her husband the self-made rich man of the best type. Eugène Montrieux, intellectual, a word that must not be used as a synonym for intelligent, with 'l'imagination du sentiment,' loves a bright particular star in the person of his pupil's mother, Madame Moreau-Janville. She is woman enough to be faintly amused at his mute adoration, but she is actually the mistress of his friend Calvignac, a former school-fellow at the Lycée Louis le Grand. Calvignac belonged to fashionable Parisian society. His

parents had died while he was young, leaving him a fortune which he soon dissipated. Now deeply in debt, he desired to retrieve his situation by marrying Hélène, the daughter of Moreau-Janville by a former marriage. The girl was in love with him, but her father wished her to form an alliance with a young nobleman, rich, handsome, of irreproachable character, and sincerely in love with Hélène. To aid his designs Calvignac makes use of Eugène as go-between; Eugène, entirely ignorant of Calvignac's relations with Mme. Moreau-Janville, unwillingly consents to carry messages to Hélène. But his young pupil who has accidentally stumbled on his mother's secret, reveals it to Eugène. Bourget unravels this complication in masterly fashion, and the scene between the husband and wife and the daughter is finely conceived and carried out. The character of Moreau-Janville himself is admirably drawn, and is, I think, a truer type of the man of business, of the successful self-made man, than that portrayed by Octave Mirbeau in 'Les affaires sont les affaires.'

'Cet homme supérieur, s'il avait le tempérament plébéien de ses origines, possédait au plus haut degré le sens qui fait les maîtres, celui de reponsabilités. Ses ouvriers le savaient bien: les moments où il fallait le redouter davantage n'étaient pas ceux où la colère gonflait la grosse artère sinueuse que ses cinquante ans passés cordaient sur sa tempe. Il pouvait revenir sur les exécutions prononcées alors, jamais sur d'autres, décidées dans les minutes où, devenu sévèrement et gravement calme, il faisait, à ses propres yeux, fonction de juge. Ce manieur de millions n'avait pas une âme de boursier.



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L'argent, pour lui, représentait autre chose que des facilités d'existence. Il y voyait un instrument d'autorité, et l'autorité, c'était sa foi, son culte, sa religion. Ces caractères-là dans certaines crises domestiques, déploient soudain un pouvoir de commander dont on n'oserait pas dire qu'il est auguste; du moins il ennoblit un peu ce que les querelles familiales ont toujours de sinistre et d'abaissant.'

Moreau-Janville and Madame Montrieux, Eugène's mother, are the only persons in the story who possess 'la vérité profonde du cœur sans décor,' while the other characters have the 'décor sans la vérité profonde du cœur,' Eugène himself standing somewhere between the two, but leaning to the former. The rest of the stories have the distinction of style that belongs to Bourget, but are decidedly of less interest than the one I have attempted to describe.

In 'L'Homme aux papillons,' Théodore Cahu writes charmingly as usual, placing the scene of his divagations in his beloved Beaugency, prefixing a dedication sonnet to the sleepy town which

'Connut mes premiers pas, vit ma première amie.'

There he was born, there he wishes to be buried

'près du mail, où je jouais, enfant,  
Sous le granit bleuté, être mis à la terre;  
Simplement, sans discours, sans bruit; en solitaire.'

The nine sketches in the volume abound in delicate irony and sincere feeling. Léon Chanove, 'l'homme aux papillons,' who is the central figure,

pursues his thoughts and ideas as if they were butterflies—that is to say, he illustrates the curious phenomenon of the ‘extériorisation de l’esprit.’

‘Ces papillons sont à l’infini et de teintes correspondant à leur sujet: papillons noirs pour la tristesse, papillons roses pour la gaieté, papillons d’or pour la gloire . . . . Les idées sont ces charmants ailés dont l’espace se peuple à ses yeux seuls.’

Poets receive these thoughts and fertilize them, and then write them down in an original form. Perhaps one of the best of the sketches is where Léon Chanove is present at his own funeral. It certainly served to show him who were really his friends, but he lost the chance of a happy marriage, for ‘je racontai à Hélène que j’avais assisté à mes funérailles et que je l’avais vue pleurer dans la sacristie. Elle me reprocha doucement de l’avoir laissé dans un tel chagrin.’ The confession killed the girl’s love for Chanove, who was forty, while she was only twenty, and he once again became for her merely ‘le vieil ami.’

Gustav Frenssen’s new story, ‘Der Untergang der Anna Hollmann,’ deals with the sending to sea by rich owners of rotten ships. There is a wonderful description of a storm and shipwreck. The sailor hero, ultimately washed ashore, loses consciousness outwardly, but imagines that he, accompanied by two of his companions, walks over the waves in search of those on whom vengeance was due. The mystical atmosphere of this journey, if it can so be called, is marvellously suggested; indeed, while reading those chapters

the illusion was so strong that I thought the man had really died, and that his spirit was wandering over the earth. The author here attains the highest art in making the improbable seem to his readers perfectly probable. That episode serves to raise the book above a tract on the wicked selfishness and avarice of men in general, and rich ship-owners in particular.

In 'Der Bettler von Syrakus,' a tragedy in five acts and a prologue, in blank verse of curious and yet not unpleasing irregularity, Sudermann has produced a moving drama of high quality. Sudermann proves himself owner of a vocabulary richer than that of any of his former writings. There is, too, a sort of brutal reality about his treatment of his theme, in itself as old as the hills—the betrayal of a general by his best friend, that reminds me somewhat of Masfield. But the technique of the play is not as excellent as is usual with his dramas, for until half way through it is very difficult to understand what it is all about. The betrayed man, left for dead, comes back to Syracuse after ten years blind and a beggar, and is able to revenge himself on the traitor who had married his supposed widow, and on his adherents. Philarete had only consented to the marriage to save her children, never, of course, dreaming that Arratos had betrayed her husband. The blind beggar is not recognised, although the people dimly see behind his poverty and misery someone who possesses authority. His wife and children, drawn towards him, dimly suspect the truth. As he falls dying his son asks: 'Who art thou?

Speak! Who art thou?' and his daughter replies: 'Of all the people in the world he can only have been one.' 'Who?' demands her mother, the light beginning to dawn on her; and the daughter, putting her arms round the dead man's neck, replies, sobbing, 'Only one!' The part of the blind beggar offers a fine opportunity to the actor.

It is customary to scoff at Madame de Genlis, to condemn her writings, and to sum up her character in the witticism, '*elle mettait les vices en actes et les vertus en préceptes.*' It has remained for Jean Harmand to tell us the truth about Madame de Genlis in a most interesting volume entitled, '*Madame de Genlis. Sa vie intime et politique 1746-1880 d'après des documents inédits.*' Emile Faguet contributes a preface, in which he says that '*ses "Memoires" ont dissimulé sa vie, et ses ouvrages ont dissimulé son mérite.*' He thinks the real Madame de Genlis is to be found in the history of her time in the '*grande histoire,*' and the '*petite histoire,*' to both of which she belonged. But her greatest merit, perhaps, for future ages is that she was the inventor of modern education,

'*l'éducation, et littéraire et scientifique, tournée vers le vrai, autant que vers le beau, curieuse de l'histoire, des langues modernes, des choses réelles, de l'étude des plus importantes découvertes récentes, autant que de chefs-d'œuvre littéraires des temps passés et des temps modernes.*'

She advocated an encyclopædic system of instruction, that is, she attempted to lead the child's mind into a number of fresh paths, and to give him an

appetite for everything. She was further a pioneer, or rather an inventor, in that she advocated the same education for girls as for boys; but although she was '*femme très-savante*,' she did not exclude from her scheme practical and domestic matters. Her system may be studied in '*Adèle et Théodore*,' and in '*Les leçons d'une Gouvernante*.' Her methods were largely inspired by Rousseau and Mme. de Maintenon. Education must be adapted to the age of the children, and their physical health must be carefully watched. She was modern, perhaps too modern, in regard to the study of Latin and Greek. She declared it was necessary enough fifty years ago, but now '*celui qui sait parfaitement le français, l'anglais, l'italien, a certainement la connaissance d'une quantité d'ouvrages supérieure ou au moins égale à celle que l'antiquité peut offrir*.' Practical work, such as we are accustomed to in the kindergarten, was part of her plan, and she had no opinion of holidays. '*Les vacances*,' she said, '*ont perdu plus d'éducatons que le manque d'habileté des maîtres*.' Her method of teaching literature was curious. She began with second and third-rate authors, considering such works the best foundation for a lesson in criticism, as it is easier to recognise the faults of a mediocre work than to appreciate the excellences of a great one! Her way of dealing with modern languages was wholly advanced, indeed a method which we are only just beginning to adopt. She was really the first among teachers to see that '*il importe peu de fréquenter les morts si l'on est incapable de parler avec les vivants*.' And so in the morning her pupils spoke

German, in the afternoon English, in the evening Italian, with most admirable results we are told, and her pupils were, as all the world knows, the princes and princesses of the House of Orleans. It was, however, a material education, '*une éducation moderniste où le corps avait le pas sur l'esprit.*' Her ideas on the education of girls are equally modern in spirit and in practice—in a word, '*le féminisme raisonnable.*' It would be an interesting and not wholly unprofitable study to trace how very much modern writers on, and advocates of, advanced education for women have borrowed from Madame de Genlis. She declared that women ought to study the laws that govern their land, not because she wished women generally to take part in public life, but because when a woman becomes a widow she '*quitte le rang modeste où la nature et les lois l'avaient placée, pour s'élever au rang des hommes, elle remplace un citoyen, et remplacer un citoyen, c'est devenir citoyen soi-même.*' She advocated the establishment of an '*école rurale,*' a school very much on the lines of our domestic economy schools of to-day. The comprehensiveness of the curriculum, which includes everything from instruction in religion to instruction in doing the family washing, is overwhelming, but its object was neither to manufacture '*femmes savantes, ou précieuses ridicules,*' nor '*des poupées.*' Indeed, Mme. de Genlis' plan of education for girls—a plan, as I said above, which anticipates modern schemes—is

celui d'une femme de bons sens, qui, jetée par la nécessité en pleine lutte pour la vie, et blâmant le désœuvrement,

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la vie désoccupée, vide, ignorante, des filles de son siècle et de son monde, et déplorant le temps perdu par celles qui pourraient l'employer à tant d'œuvres utiles, a tenté de leur donner une valeur et de connaissances durables, propres à embellir leur vie et à les consoler toujours quand leur jeunesse se serait en volée.

It is well, sometimes, to remember that the world did not begin with the twentieth century. Much indeed might be learnt from Mme. de Genlis' writings on education. Her other books are of less value, but even those provide entertainment and illuminate the society of her day. Her position as an author, in spite of her 130 volumes, is best summed up, perhaps, by La Harpe, who placed her 'au premier rang des femmes de lettres du second ordre.'

It is quite remarkable how large a place the study of English literature and language occupies in France and Germany. In looking lately through a small parcel of new foreign books, I found not less than seven or eight dealing with the subject.

I should have thought that the last word for French readers and students of Mrs. Browning had been said in the late Mlle. Merlette's big and comprehensive volume. But Mme. W. Nicati, regarding that work as too elaborate for the general public, has produced an interesting little book entitled 'Femme et poète. Elizabeth Barrett Browning,' which gives a more popular account of the poet's life and work. The author ranks 'The Sonnets from the Portuguese' as Mrs. Browning's finest poem, and glorifies it by the phrase 'Le cantique d'amour.' Helene Richter,



in the second volume of her 'Geschichte des englischen Romantik,' deals with 'Die Blüte der englischen Romantik.' She writes of romanticism in science, politics, æsthetics, philosophy, and sociology, devoting a large space to the work of Blake and Burns. The other books deal with English philology, a subject that seems to be chiefly studied on the Continent. André Courmont, in a volume of the 'Bibliothèque de la faculté des lettres' of the University of Paris, entitled 'Studies on Lydgate's syntax in the Temple of Glas, c. 1403,' writes, in excellent English, a purely philological essay of much value. In the 'Studien zur englischen Philologie,' edited by Lorenz Morsbach, we have 'Mittelenglische geistliche und weltliche Lyrik des XIII. Jahrhunderts, nach Motiven und Formen,' by Alexander Müller, a very thorough piece of work in which it is strange to note how very few are the English available sources. 'Humour in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' by Wilhelm Ewald, forms the subject of another volume of the same series, in which careful distinction is drawn between the figures in the tales which are subjectively humorous and those that are objectively humorous. Other philological studies are 'Die Alliterien der Formeln der englischen Sprache,' collected by Hans Willert, and 'Syntax des heutigen Englisch,' by Dr. G. Wendt, a veritable scientific treatise, where again the authorities cited are rarely English scholars.

'Belles Lettres' do not occupy a very large place in recent French books. A delightful volume on 'Voiture et les origines de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet,

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1597-1635. Portraits et documents inédits,' is the work of Emile Magne. It is based on unpublished documents, and throws much light on the period.

Ernest Bovet discusses the problem of literary forms and the law of their evolution in 'Lyrisme, Épopée, Drame: Une loi de l'histoire littéraire expliquée par l'évolution générale.' Bovet verifies his law from the history of French literature, while a counter-proof is provided by the history of Italian literature. It is an interesting theory, well set forth, and most literatures would bear it out in a general way.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Männer und Zeiten. Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte. Von Erich Marcks. 2 vols.

Essays and speeches on a number of historical subjects. Those dealing with English history are 'In the England of Elizabeth'; 'The younger Pitt and his time'; 'Germany and England in the great European Crises from the time of the Reformation'; 'The homogeneity of England's foreign policy from 1500 to the present time.'

Briefwechsel zwischen König Johann von Sachsen und den Königen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Wilhelm I. von Preussen. Herausgegeben von Johann Georg, Herzog von Sachsen, unter Mitwirkung von Hubert Ermisch.

The correspondence covers the years 1825-93, and furnishes interesting material for history.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 101

**Standhaft und treu. Karl von Roeder und seine Brüder in Preussens Kämpfen von 1806-15.**

The Roeder family played an important part in the history of Prussia; they did not strive after glory, but worked and fought for their country. The book is based on a manuscript autobiography left by Karl von Roeder.

**Napoleon I. sein Leben und seine Zeit. Band I. Von Friedrich M. Kircheisen.**

Kircheisen is the greatest authority in Germany on Napoleon. For ten years he has been making the researches necessary for this work, which claims to be an impartial biography based on original sources. It will run to eight or ten volumes, and is fully illustrated.

**Biedermeier Deutschland. 1815-47. Von Max von Bochn.**

A delightfully illustrated and brightly written history of social life in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century, and a valuable contribution to social history. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

**Die Schwabische Litteratur im 18ten und 19ten Jahrhundert. Ein historischer Rückblick. Von Hermann Fischer.**

A useful survey which reveals how many of the great German men of letters of the period dealt with belong to Swabia.

**Le Théâtre d'aujourd'hui. Première série. Par Antoine Benoist.**

Interesting criticism on such contemporary dramatists as Donnay, Hervieu, Lavedan, Brieux, and Lemaître.

102 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Charles Collé. *Journal historique inédit pour les années 1761 et 1762, publié sur le manuscrit original et annoté.* Par Ad. Van Bever, avec la collaboration de G. Boissy.

Two of the lost volumes of one of the most curious documents of the eighteenth century. With this help we are able to reconstruct the literary life of those years in France.

Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim. *Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Johannes Joachim und Andreas Moser.* Band I.

There will be three volumes in all. In this instalment are letters from and to Robert and Clara Schumann, Berlioz and Liszt, Gisela von Arnim, who afterwards married Hermann Grimm. Joachim was in close relation with all the great composers and musicians of his time, and thus these letters contain material for a history of music during the nineteenth century.

Kleine Schriften von Adolf Furtwängler. *Herausgegeben von Johannes Sieveking und Ludwig Curtius.* Erster Band.

An addition to the literature of classical art and archæology, and also a memorial to Furtwängler. There are to be two more volumes.

Hellenika. *Eine Auswahl philologischer und philosophie geschientlicher kleiner Schriften.* Von Theodor Gomperz. Erster Band.

A collection of essays dedicated to the Universities of Königsberg, Dublin, and Cambridge. They deal chiefly with Greek poetry, criticised both from the literary and philological sides.

Geist und Glaube. Von Friedrich Naumann.

Essays and lectures on such subjects as 'Faith and Progress,' 'Faith and Personality,' 'Faith and Government.' Naumann believes that liberalism in religion is a better thing than scepticism. He writes an admirable style, deep conviction and earnest sincerity underlying his arguments.

ELIZABETH LEE.

## THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS AND THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

**T**HE references to the disputes between the Oxford University Press and the Stationers' Company about 1680 are so obscure that it is difficult to arrive at the real sequence of events. Some of the accounts seem to point to the printing of the Bible as the origin of the trouble; the following abstract of a Chancery suit shows that the trouble was far-reaching and concerned with at least one hundred and fifty books.

According to Dr. Wallis's 'Account of Printing in Oxford,' written in 1691, and printed at p. 217 of Derham's 'Philosophical Experiments . . . of Dr. Robert Hooke,' London, 1726, Archbishop Laud was instrumental in causing an agreement to be drawn up between the University and the Stationers' Company on behalf of the Company, the King's Printer, and Norton, whereby among other things the University agreed to cease printing certain books. The agreement was to hold good for three years, and was to be renewed for subsequent periods of three years each, the Company agreeing to pay the University a yearly rent of £200.

This state of affairs went on until the outbreak of the Civil War, when the Company refused to renew the agreement. The University then gave leave to their printers, Lichfield and Hall, to print the books in dispute, thus forcing the Company to negotiate. This they did. Pleading poverty, they were admitted to a new agreement at a yearly rental of £120.

The new arrangement does not seem to have been satisfactory to either party, for we find the Company printing Bibles and Psalms very cheaply, and selling them for next to nothing (*circa* 1676), in the endeavour to ruin the University and so maintain their own monopoly. In order to cope with this move of the Company, Bishop Fell and Dr. Yate, representing the University, brought in some London booksellers (*circa* 1678), first of all Moses Pitt, and later Thomas Guy and Peter Parker. The Company harassed the University after this by suits in Chancery, Common Law, and Writs of Quo Warranto, but with very little success. This was the state of affairs when the following Bill of Complaint, which has not hitherto been printed, was filed in Chancery on 7th December, 1688.

The Bill sets forth that 'your Orators the Masters and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of Stationers of the City of London shew that diverse debates and controversies being had and depending by and between your orators and the Chancellor Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford touching the right of printing diverse books, in the schedule hereunto

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annexed mentioned, by reason of several Letters Patent formerly granted unto your orators or their predecessors and to the University; the University affirming and insisting that they had and still have a right to the sole printing or comprinting of the books in the said schedule specified and also a right of using and employing certain numbers of printers and printing presses within the University of Oxford exclusive of all others; a treaty being had for accommodating of the said differences the University, by an indenture made 30 September in the first year of the reign of the King's Majesty that now is (James II.) with your orators, did agree that they should not for three years print or cause or permit to be imprinted or comprinted in the said University of Oxford or elsewhere any book mentioned in the schedule and that your orators were to have the sole right of doing so, "the large Sheete Almanack upon the Rolling press as formerly used to bee printed in the said University only excepted" provided always that this restraint of printing and comprinting should be understood to be of books as they were usually printed by your said orators but not to extend to Classical Authors when illustrated by new annotations or various readings or printed in forms and with letters not for the use of schools. Your orators promised to pay to the University a yearly sum of £160 for the three years, to be paid quarterly at the Theatre in Oxford also they agreed to sell and deliver to the University at Stationers Hall in London such numbers of Psalms in metre in such sort or sizes, etc., as they should desire. The



request for such to be in writing under the hand of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, then Lord Bishop of Oxford or the Vice-Chancellor of the University. These were to be sold to them at the same terms, rates, and price as to the King's Printer; twelve months notice, to be accounted from the time of making such request, to be given your orators, or any two of them, to provide Psalms of Pearl letter and three months to provide Psalms of any other letter. The price of any so ordered to be taken out of the £160, and if your orators should not deliver by specified time it should be lawful for the University to print what they needed. Your orators relying on the agreement made suitable provision for meeting the demand by laying in a large stock of materials and retaining great numbers of workmen and have ever since printed Psalms of all sorts and sizes and other books sufficient for the whole kingdom.'

'It may please your Lordship that the University having afterward deputed one Thomas Guy and Peter Parker as printers to the University at a yearly rent, the said Guy and Parker being covetous have confederated with [? Robert] Eliot and Francis Duffield of Oxford together with other persons whose names are unknown to your orators and under pretence of being printers, deputies, and assigns have for several months past printed or caused to be printed many hundred thousand of Psalms in metre in several volumes and sorts of letters and other Psalms, Psalters, Almanacks, and other of the books mentioned in the said schedule and have prevailed upon the University

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to approve of their doing so. In order to lend color to this unjust dealing they give out that your orators have not paid the yearly rent of £160 and that the Vice Chancellor had demanded Psalms in metre and that your orators had not provided the same and so they were at liberty to print them. In answer to this contention your orators say that the Vice-Chancellor did not give the required notice and if the notice were given the Psalms were delivered, or if any parts were not delivered it was by reason of wet weather or some other casualty or accident that the same could not be gotten dry and fit to be delivered: Nevertheless your orators being desirous to accommodate differences were willing to waive that point and pay the University the sum of £240 being due under the agreement up till Michaelmas last and to accept from the University another agreement for a further period of three years. Accordingly on 16 November last Randall Taylor and others on behalf of the Company tendered to Doctor Ironside then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wallis, and Dr. Fallon, members of the University authorized to transact the business on behalf of the University, £240 and also a fine of £10, as well as a new agreement prepared under the Common Seal of the Company. The University refused to accept the money and insisted that they were not obliged to renew the agreement at all, following on this they have brought an action at Common Law against your orators for arrears of rent. Your orators witnesses being either dead or beyond the seas, makes it impossible for a defence to be entered into at common

law so they pray for *subpœna* against the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, Guy, Parker, Eliot, and Duffield, the number of books printed to be ascertained, whether printed in twelve or twenty-fours, in pearl letter or other kinds of type. They pray also that the University may be compelled to adhere to their promise to renew the agreement, and claim an injunction meanwhile.'

An extensive search has failed to produce the answer to this Bill of Complaint, but some idea of the main lines of the Answer, which must have been put forth by the University, may be found in some letters (*ca.* 1679-80) from Drs. Fell and Wallis to Archbishop Sancroft. They are well known, and are printed in 'Collectanea Curiosa,' by John Gutch. Oxford, 1781. Vol. i., 269 *et seq.* It is there stated that in the year 1672, some members of the University of Oxford, namely: John, Bishop of Oxford, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Dr. Thomas Yates, associated themselves together, and at an expense of above £4,000, furnished a printing establishment from Germany, France, and Holland. They had already printed several works in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as many in English, and had then in the press several important books.

However, they found it necessary to engage Mr. Moses Pitt and some other London booksellers about eighteen months ago. This partnership was so successful that they had reduced the price of Quarto Bibles with Common Prayer, Psalms, and Apocrypha, from 13s. 4d. to 5s. 9d. (5s. 6d. elsewhere); and Octavos from 8s. 8d. to 4s. 2d. This

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had so incensed the King's Printers that they had cited the University and its partners to appear before the Privy Council on the plea that an infringement of some orders of that board, made in 1628 and 1629, had taken place.—Here follows a brief account of the history of printing in Oxford, in which Corsellis is mentioned, and it is asserted that several books printed by him were extant.—The King's Printers have had little regard to the letter, or paper, or correctness of what they printed, the bibles which the King's Printers have sold being generally imported from Holland. When the theatre was finished the King's Printers refused to pay the usual rent to the University for their forbearance of comprinting; bibles of all forms were then printed at Oxford. As a result of the University's action, prices fell rapidly. Bibles in folio formerly £6 fell to 30s.; bibles in 4to, 13s. 4d. to 5s. 6d.; 8vo, 6s. to 2s. 8d.; 12mo, 3s. to 1s. 4d. Testaments which had been sold for 1s. were sold for 5d. So in Common Prayer books. Folios, 8s. to 4s. 6d.; 8vo, 1s. 6d. to 10d.; 12mo, 1s. 4d. to 5d. Books of Homilies from 6s. 8d. to 3s. 6d. The King's printers have preferred a Bill in Chancery against the University who think that the Government may think it worth public consideration, for if this design of monopolizing bibles and liturgies takes place, great mischief will ensue.

Another remarkable document is a letter from Dr. Wallis to Archbishop Sancroft dated 15th April, 1684, in which he states:—that the University had a right by prescription to publish books (lawful to be published) or multiply copies by, writing,

by the *Scriptores* and *Illuminatores* of the University, before the invention of printing, without restraint; these *Scriptores* and *Illuminatores* being owned as members of the University, '*eo nomine*,' and being so acknowledged by a settlement in Parliament, 18 Edw. I.

The University had thus a right by usage, and usage gives a right at common law, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 13 Eliz. The University have also two Charters of 8 Charles I. whereby they are authorized to print and vend '*omnimodos libros publice non prohibitos, editos vel edendos*,' any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restriction to the contrary notwithstanding.

In 11 Charles I. another charter was granted in which some doubts then suggested, as to whether '*libri publici prohibiti*' did not extend to such as were by Patent restrained to the Stationers, King's Printers, and the like, which, as was pretended, were thereby prohibited to all. The charter expressly declares that the University may print and sell all books so privileged. The Stationers, Mr. Norton, and the King's Printers, have acknowledged this right by Indenture of 20th March, 1636, for three years, whereby they agree to pay in their several proportions £200 a year to the University, to forbear the printing of those privileged books. He recites other indentures, and mentions that the University supplied the press to accompany the King and his army during the Civil War, also that there is owing from his majesty to Lichfield, the then printer of the University, above £600.

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After the wars they continued to print the privileged books, but soon made another agreement. After the Restoration they renewed the agreement. When the agreement expired in 1669, the King's printers refused to pay their proportion of the rent, although the Stationers' and Mr. Norton were willing to pay theirs. The University after a few years began to print bibles, and when in 1679 a petition was brought against them before the Privy Council, the University and the Printers were acquitted and the petition cast out.

The above would probably form the basis of an answer, while the last paragraph gives us the result of the suit. It is not difficult to imagine why the Stationers presented a Bill in Chancery. With great resources at their command injunctions could be obtained and various devices used to delay the consideration of the case. Rivals who reduced prices to less than one-half were to be prevented at almost any cost.<sup>1</sup> Unhappily for the Stationers' Company, the Revolution was at hand. When things resumed their normal course the Lord High Chancellor, Baron Jeffreys, had—like his sovereign—fled.

<sup>1</sup> According to a notice appearing in the 'Daily Courant' of Tuesday, 7th December, 1714, the Company of Stationers have had granted to them by various Kings and Queens the sole right of printing, publishing, and selling all primers, psalters, and psalms, church catechism, school books and others, prognostications and almanacks. A catalogue of these books may be had gratis at Stationers' Hall. Several printers, booksellers, and haberdashers, have infringed their monopoly and are now under prosecution in the High Court of Chancery. This notice is intended to warn any others who commit breaches of the Letters Patent.



The list of books mentioned in the Chancery suit contains books on law, history, theology, editions of nearly all the classics, Latin and Greek, several bi-lingual texts, Latin-Greek, and Latin-English, all almanacs, prognostications, psalms in metre, psalters, primers, the A.B.C., the Child's Guide, and Horn Book prints.

The first book mentioned on the list is 'Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Christi Lat:,' which does not appear to have been printed in Latin at Oxford during the period. An English edition also on the list of privileged books was printed by Leonard Lichfield for E. Forest at Oxford in 1639. A series well worth noting occurs, each mentioned as a different book. 'Republica (sic) Romana,' 'Angliae,' 'Scocie et Hiberniae,' 'Italiae,' 'Galliae,' 'Poloniae,' 'Helvetiae,' 'Turciae,' 'Moscoviae,' 'Russia,' 'Belgij,' 'Hollandiae.' The word 'Republica' should be understood before each. There are serious doubts as to whether some of these books mentioned ever were printed by the University. For instance 'Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne,' by William Hunnis, is one of the books on the list, yet there are only two editions in the British Museum library, 1583 and 1587. These both have music. They are printed by Henry Denham. The B.M. catalogue has been searched for several of the books mentioned in the suit with no success.

R. L. STEELE.